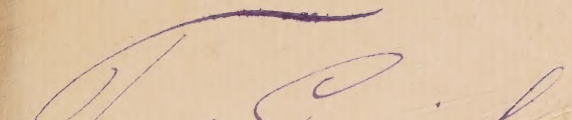


THE KING'S CLASSICS UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF PROFESSOR I. GOLLANCZ, LITT.D.

THE · KING'S · CLASSICS
B·McM·

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/sirwilliamtemple0000albe

TEMPLE UPON THE GARDENS OF EPICURUS, WITH OTHER XVIITH CENTURY GARDEN ESSAYS

Also by A. Forbes Sieveking.

THE PRAISE OF GARDENS (Dent).

Dominus Gulielmus Temple Eques Baronettus
Ser.mi et Pot.mi Mag. Brittanniæ Regis ad Ord.s Fœd.m Belgij Legatus
Extr.s et apud Tractatus pacis tom Aquis grani quam Neomagi Legat.
Mediat.i Ijusdem Ser.mi Regis a Secretioribus Consilijs. 1679.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE UPON THE GARDENS OF EPICURUS, WITH OTHER XVIIth CENTURY GARDEN ESSAYS: INTRODUCTION BY ALBERT FORBES SIEVEKING, F.S.A.

CHATTO AND WINDUS, PUBLISHERS
LONDON, 1908

The use of Gardens . . . as it has been the inclination of Kings and the choice of Philosophers, so it has been the common favourite of public and private men; a pleasure of the greatest and the care of the meanest; and indeed an employment and a possession for which no man is too high nor too low.—Sir William Temple.

In books and Gardens thou hast plac'd aright
Thy noble, innocent delight.

I never had any other desire so strong and so like to covetousness, as that one which I have had always, that I might be master at last of a small house and large Garden.
—Abraham Cowley.

In Garden Delights it is not easy to hold a Mediocrity; that insinuating Pleasure is seldom without some Extremity.
—Sir Thomas Browne.

When we have run our passions' heat,
Love hither makes his best retreat.
The gods, who mortal beauty chase,
Still in a tree did end their race.
Andrew Marvell.

Our drift is a noble, princely and universal Elysium capable of all the amenities there can naturally be introduced into Gardens of pleasure, yet so as to become useful and significant to the least pretences and faculties.—
John Evelyn.

A BOOK ON SEVENTEENTH CENTURY GARDENS

DEDICATED

BY PERMISSION

TO

H.R.H. PRINCESS LOUISE, DUCHESS OF ARGYLL

WHOSE HOME IS THE GARDEN-PALACE OF KENSINGTON

LOVER OF ALL THE ARTS

NOT LEAST THE ONE NEAREST TO NATURE

THE ART OF GARDENS

INTRODUCTION

The five writers, whose Garden Essays are here presented in whole or abstract—Sir William Temple, Abraham Cowley, Sir Thomas Browne, Andrew Marvell and John Evelyn—may be said in their lives to cover the whole of the Seventeenth Century (the eldest being born in 1605, the last dying in 1706); and in their writings to represent not only some of the best of Garden, but of English, Literature. It would not be easily possible to select five better names to represent either the literature or the lives of great Englishmen. Four out of the five were pre-eminently men and citizens of the world, in the noblest and richest sense; one, Abraham Cowley, may be chosen as the type of man to whom Retirement and Repose are more congenial than Action. Temple, by his withdrawal from public life at his meridian, stands in this respect midway between Cowley on the one hand, and Browne, Marvell and Evelyn on the other—all three of whom strove to the end of their lives with the

"Stream of the World," which, according to Goethe, forms Characters, as distinguished from the Talent, which is shaped "in der Stille."

In the present volume they have their place chiefly as Garden lovers, or, to use Evelyn's words, as "*Paradisi Cultores*—Paradisean and Hortulan Saints," and only incidentally will they be referred to in any other capacity.

This group of writers not only represents in Literature a distinct school of thought and action, with views of life very closely akin, but also a definite variation of the Garden-Art, from the spacious age of Elizabeth and Bacon, which revelled in the terraced and statued Architectural gardens of Italy, (derived from the great Roman builders of Gardens,) and adapted to English needs and taste. Passing through the grand style of Le Nôtre—or the *Horizontal* garden so characteristic of the ceremonial display of France and its Grand Monarch,—the Revolution brings us to the Dutch Régime, represented at its culminating point in England by Hampton Court under London and Wise; and in Holland, whence the *idée mère* was derived, by the princely gardens of Loo, Ryswick and Hanslerdyck. This last phase might, I think, be called the Canal type of Garden—since Water in

straight channels and basins determines its main features — and the straight and clipped (toped or tonsured) hedges and trees are really subordinate to the lines of water.[1]

In Gardening, which is eclectic and cosmopolitan, more perhaps than in any other art, it is difficult to draw hard and fast lines in discriminating styles and schools. They overlap, merge and intersect—for every man feels *anch' io son pittore* in his own Garden, and every one with a garden loves to plan and alter, and is not withheld from modifying and changing the features of the ground and its design by any sense of incapacity, such as he might feel were he to essay to alter the elevation of a house, re-paint an old master, or try his hand at chipping off bits of a marble statue. This freedom in dealing with "the art of landscape," when the materials are Nature's own, has its advantages and disadvantages. It allows scope for individual originality and enterprise, but it also leads to the destruction of types and styles, which another generation tries in vain to revive. What would we not now give to see intact Pope's five acres

[1] The present Editor has tried to sketch the literary and engraved history of the early Dutch Garden in Holland, in three Essays in "Country Life" (1905).

at Twickenham, as left by himself at his death and described by John Serle so minutely, that I marvel no Pope-lover has tried to restore it. Possibly the next tenant, if an American of taste, may do so. It is not that Pope's garden ideas would exactly chime with ours, but his Garden would be an historical document of priceless value, although the Grotto might strike us now better suited to Rosherville—if that also were not a delight of the Past.

We are accustomed to think of Dutch Gardening as if it were introduced into England all at once by William III.; but a little historical enquiry will show us that we had taken practical gardening lessons from Holland as early as the reign of Elizabeth.

Thomas Fuller notes in his "Worthies" (1662) that Gardening (in those early days it was of course the Kitchen or utilitarian garden)

> "was first brought into England for profit about seventy years ago, before which we fetched most of our Cherries from Flanders, apples from France, and had hardly a mess of rathe-ripe pease but from Holland, which were dainties for ladies, they came so far and cost so dear. Since Gardening had crept out of Holland to Sandwich, Kent, and thence into this County (Surrey), where though they have given six pounds an aker and upwards they have made their rent, lived comfortably, and set many people on work."

In this statement it looks as if Fuller's language

drew inspiration from Samuel Hartlib, or rather Child's "Legacy of Husbandry," published in 1651:—

Because Gardening is of few years standing in England, and therefore not deeply rooted, nor well understood. About fifty years ago, about which time Ingenuities began to flourish in England: This Art of Gardening, began to creep into England, into Sandwich, and Surrey, Fulham, and other places.

Some old men in Surrey, where it flourisheth very much at present; report That they knew the first Gardiners that came into those parts to plant Cabages, Colleflowers, and to sow Turneps, Carrets, and Parsnips, to sow Raith (or early ripe) Pease, Rape, all which at that time were great rarities, we having few or none in England, but what came from Holland and Flanders. . . .

We have not Gardening-ware in that plenty and cheapness (unless perhaps about London) as in Holland, and other places, where they not onely feed themselves with Gardiner's ware, but also fat their Hogs and Cows.

We have as yet divers things from beyond seas, which the Gardiners may easily raise at home, though nothing nigh so much as formerly; for in Queen Elizabeth's time, we had not only our Gardiner's ware from Holland, but also Cherries from Flaunders; Apples from France; Saffron, Licorish from Spain; Hops from the Low-Countreys: and the Frenchman who writes the *Treasure Politick* saith, That it's one of the great Deficiencies of England, that Hops will not grow, whereas now it is known, that Licorish, Saffron, Cherries, Apples, Pears, Hops, Cabages, of England, are the best in the world. Notwithstanding we as yet want many things as for example: We want Onnions, very many coming to England from Flaunders, Spain, &c., Madder for dying coming from Zurich-Sea by Zealand; we have Red Roses from France, Annice-seeds, Fennel-seeds, Cumine, Caraway, Rice from Italy, which without question would grow very well in divers moist lands in England;

yea Sweet Marjoram, Barley, and further Gromwell-seed and Virga Aurea, and Would, from the Western Isles, though they grow in our hedges in England.

Sir William Temple was born in the reign of Charles I. in 1628, the year of Buckingham's assassination, and died in 1698, four years before his Royal Master, William III.

Every one knows from Macaulay's "pictured page" that Sir William negotiated the famous Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden in 1668, learnt from his grateful Sovereign how to cut Asparagus in the Dutch fashion, and finally, weary of diplomacy and etiquette, retired Diocletian-like from Court and ceremony, first to Sheen and later to his beloved More Park, near Farnham in Surrey (*not* Moor Park in Hertfordshire, the subject of his eulogy). Here he devoted himself to a lettered leisure amid books and apricots, pears and vines—took the losing side as the champion of Antiquity in the great Book-War then raging between the hosts of Ancients and Moderns (led by the truculent scholar Bentley), which some of us still look on safely from our arm-chairs in the satyric pages of Swift's "Battle of the Books"; and finally dying, as he had lived, an Epicurean philosopher of the school of Gassendi and St. Evremond, bequeathed his heart

to the little spot of Mother Earth near the sun-dial in the Garden he had cultivated and immortalised, while by his own direction the rest of his ashes were deposited in Westminster Abbey.

Temple's Essay is entitled "Upon the Gardens of Epicurus," and over Temple's generation, as well as over himself personally, the doctrine of Epicurus, the Philosopher of the Garden, in one or other of its Protean manifestations, was a dominating influence. For Epicureanism is an elastic philosophy, stretching from the varying heights of a Lucretius, a Gassendi,[1] a Peiresc or a Temple, to the witty shallows of a Grammont or the swinish depths of a Shadwell, a Wycherley, and a Rochester. The name shelters alike virtue and sensuality. Whether interpreted with the urbanity and refinement of St. Evremond, or the more sledge-hammer sensualism and self-interest of Hobbes, the Philosophy of the Garden permeated

[1] It is too much to expect that, even when Epicurus comes into his own again, Gassendi's *De Vita, Moribus, et Doctrinâ Epicuri*, which constituted him the Defender of the Garden Faith, will ever become popular—although old Dr. Charlton's Manual may; but there is no reason why a judicious and worthy reprint of Gassendi's Life of that "Incomparable Virtuoso" Peiresc—"Englished" by Dr. Rand and eulogised by Evelyn and Isaac Disraeli—should not yield a substantial harvest.

both the thought and action of the cultured Carolines and Jacobines. The Age, moreover, was an eclectic one, wherein the world *prenait son bien* (*ou son mal*) *où on le trouvait ;* and while some "sauntered" in the Garden and inhaled its spiritual aroma, others pondered in the Porch, and yet others lingered amid the Groves of the Academy—according as they were pleasurably, stoically, or platonically moulded. The Lyceum alone attracted few loungers, for Aristotle made too great demands upon the supine Spirit of the Age. Among the more intellectual, the Academy was in the ascendant; indeed, Academies, in a general sense, in some shape or other, seemed the Recreation of the Contemplative Man, who preferred casting lines for rational beings to "compleatly" angling chubb.

Richelieu and Colbert's foundation of the French Academies of Letters and Sciences, (based upon earlier Italian models) and Mazarin's Library, had set a fashion—for France under Louis XIV. was the law-giver to Europe in matters of taste, culture and *esprit*. Both Cowley and Evelyn, with many others, floated schemes for the formation of Academies. Cowley's foundered at his death, but Evelyn's finally resulted in the establishment of that Royal Society—the god-parent of all later *Royal* Institutions, of which Lord

Brouncker was the first President, Evelyn and Boyle original Fellows, and Sprat, Bishop of Rochester (Cowley's Biographer), the first Historian. Had the Royal Society interpreted Science more liberally and done its duty towards Letters as Evelyn desired and planned, the British Academy founded in 1904 would not have been called upon to fill the vacuum it did in regard to the literary and historical Sciences.

Almost there would seem to be some subtle psychological *nexus* between the Garden Spirit and the Soul of Universities and Academies—the classic and sacred Groves of Thought, Learning and "Impassioned Contemplation"—for its reawakening or *Palingenesia* in our own generation synchronises with much ferment in regard to the needs and obligations of Universities and other allied and endowed Corporations. And perhaps it is well that when the Schoolmaster and Professor are abroad—the spirit and soul of Gardens should be also alive and active. And everywhere it hovers around us! Whether it be manifested in the practical care and culture of Gardens, and the revival of Garden Aesthetic and Design, or take the purely lyrical form of Henley's "Hawthorn and Lavender": whether, like Mr. Douglas Ainslie's lilting "Chinese Pleasaunce," it recalls the far-off charm of the willow-pattern and

pagoda-garden of Cathay—which long swayed the garden-design of Europe, as Chambers's Kew and Essay on Chinese Gardening and Père Attiret's writings still testify—whether it steep you in the Canary intoxication of Mrs. Stepney Rawson's mid-Atlantic "Enchanted Garden," or twine about the ear and memory in the honeysuckle tendrils of the Comtesse Matthieu de Noailles' verse, or the cadences of Mrs. Meynell's or Vernon Lee's prose, or merely buzzes and flutters around in the anarithmic swarms of latter-day Garden-Diaries—those twentieth-century "Books of Beauty"—

O Jardins assouplis, pelouses caressées!

Everywhere in Life and Letters the Spirit of the Time and of the Garden walk hand in hand and cast their spell over our souls and bodies—

Tout englués des sèves du Jardin!

But let us stop rhapsodising and return to Temple.

One minor point in regard to Temple's work and life need puzzle his readers no longer. The two so-called Moor Parks—in Hertfordshire and Surrey—were respectively Moor Park and More Park. The house in which Temple last lived and died is written thrice in his (probably) holograph Will, and

always as Moreparke, or More Parke. Even T. P. Courtenay, his most painstaking biographer, (whose work was the text of Macaulay's rhetorical Review,) confused the two, or rather believed there was only one, and made Temple the purchaser of the Countess of Bedford's property; nay, in reprinting the Will he once converts "More" into "Moore." This little fact alone perhaps excuses the official copy of the Will being given in its entirety.[1] But lovers of the history of our Literature will find a higher justification than a lawyer's pedantry in the whole style of the Will—*c'est de l'homme même*—Esther Johnson, Swift's *Stella*, is described as "Servant to my sister Giffard"—how the bitter taste must have made Jonathan wince! The name of Dingley occurs—Thomas Swift is one of the witnesses—Jonathan Swift "now dwelling with me"[2] is mentioned in the codicil for a legacy of 100 pounds—and Temple specifies the exact spot where his

[1] See Appendix to Introduction.

[2] "The fine gentleman" Temple "spoiled"—perhaps by allowing himself to be addressed (June 1689) in an Ode as *learn'd, good, and great*—and as combining *This great triumvirate of Souls*—Virgil, Epicurus and Cæsar! And Swift's self-disparaging apostrophe is equally disproportioned—

Thy few ill-presented graces seem
To breed contempt where thou hadst hoped esteem.

heart is to rest in his garden[1]—the rest of his body being bequeathed to Westminster Abbey. Surely this transfigures a legal into a human document of poignant literary associations.

Temple's prose has been praised by many critics in varying voices. Hume, writing in an age when style had sunk its individuality in the generic; and, in pursuit of colourless Ciceronianism, had lost the personal note and become *de l'époque même plutôt que de*

[1] The versions of this *affaire du cœur* are various. Stephen Switzer, in the valuable "History of Gard'ning" prefixed to his *Ichnographia Rustica*, thought the heart was interred "in his beloved Gardens at *Sheen*." Defoe's account (1748) is as follows:—

About Two Miles from *Farnham* is *More-park*, formerly the Seat of *Sir William Temple*, who, by his Will, ordered his Heart to be put into a China Bason, and buried under a Sun-dial in his Garden, which was accordingly performed. This House is situated in a Valley, surrounded on Every Side with Hills, having a running Stream thro' the Garden, which with a small Expence might be made to Serpentize through all the adjacent Meadows, in a most delightful manner.

While Cobbett in his *Rural Rides* writes:—

I would have showed him (his son) the garden-seat, under which Sir William Temple's heart was buried, agreeably to his Will; but, the seat was gone, also the wall at the back of it; and the exquisitely beautiful little lawn in which the seat stood, was turned into a parcel of divers-shaped cockney-clumps, planted according to the strictest rules of artificial and refined vulgarity.

l'homme, describes it as negligent and infected by foreign idioms, but agreeable and interesting; not like the perusal of a book, but conversation with a companion. Johnson hailed him as the first writer who gave cadence to English prose and paid him the flattery of imitation, as he did Sir Thomas Browne, with perhaps even greater fidelity. One has but to compare Temple's steady current, deserving Clarendon's favourite epithet "flowing," with the comparatively uneven and rugged periods of John Evelyn, or even Clarendon himself, to feel the justice of Johnson's judgment; but the Doctor was perhaps a semi-tone too dogmatic, and might have included Dryden among the first of the prose prophets.

Swift dwells upon Temple's remarkable power of adapting the style of his letters to the character of his correspondent, and declares that he advanced our English tongue to as great perfection as it can well bear. Hallam thinks that he has less eloquence than Bolingbroke, but is free from his restlessness and ostentation. Macaulay, with much condescension and generosity, for he confesses frankly that he does not like Temple's character—and Style, says a greater historian than Macaulay, is the *image of character*—pronounces his prose to be singularly lucid and melodious, superficially

deformed by Gallicisms and Hispanicisms, but at bottom pure English.

Lamb in his Essay on "The Genteel Style of Writing," couples Lord Shaftesbury and Sir William Temple, as representing respectively the lordly and gentlemanly styles in writing, and contrasts the "inflated finical rhapsodies" of Shaftesbury, (who seems to have somewhat resembled Matthew Arnold in the *superior* irony of his "Characteristicks" and criticism, but could not attain his *supreme* height in poetry,) with "the plain natural chit-chat" of Temple. When we recall Coleridge's use of the same phrase in regard to "the divine chit-chat" of Cowper's letters, we see how relative to its age and the individual who utters it, and how little final and absolute, all criticism and verbal eulogy inevitably become. But all critics unite in finding Temple entertaining, and at his best, as in some of the passages quoted by Lamb, he rises to a considerable height of philosophic and emotional reflection. To-day it hardly seems as if "chit-chat" best expresses the somewhat high-backed and dignified conversation and well-bred familiarity of Temple's dressing-gown discourses. But I believe that when the History of Conversation is at last written, Temple's apophthegms and reflections

upon the subject will come in for some measure of attention.

"A swelled style," wrote Temple, in an early essay at Brussels in 1652, "proceeds from a swelled mind"; and we may surely echo this two centuries and a half later, although the modern echo might sound rather like "swelled head" than "mind."

Sir Thomas Browne is as diffuse, desultory and centrifugal a writer as Montaigne, and as fond of marrowy classical quotations as old Burton; but he is more complicated, since he makes appeal and reference to the sciences of the past and then present, as well as to their literature. Thus he cannot embark upon the Plants mentioned in Scripture, without a long prologue asserting that all the other sciences and arts (astronomy, surgery, rhetoric, mineralogy, navigation, &c.) may be illuminated from the pages of Holy Writ, before he arrives at the "expressions from plants elegantly advantaging the significancy of the text."

Browne is prone to preface his Orations like the advocate Petit Jean in Racine's comedy, *Les Plaideurs* —"Avant la naissance du Monde"—and were we not awed at his solemn sublimity, we might sometimes be inclined, like the Judge in the same play, to implore

him, with a yawn, to "Let us get along to the Deluge"!

And what a deluge it is: what a torrent of tempestuous language is poured down upon us from the cumulus clouds of his vocabulary and learning!

It is a pity that in the present edition the text is not set up in italics and capitals, to do the matter full typographical justice: the majesty of Browne seems to require the magnificence of large quarto page and accessories to present him in his habit as he wrote.[1]

Upon reaching the gate of the "Garden of Cyrus" (published in 1658) the natural first question a reader will ask is, What is a Quincunx?

Here is Browne's own grandiose definition:—"That is the Rows and Orders so handsomely disposed, or Five Trees so set together that a regular Angularity and thorough Prospect was left on every side. Owing this name not only unto the *Quintuple* number of Trees, but the Figure declaring that Number which being doubled at the Angle makes up the Letter X, that is

[1] Those who would see Browne "in his habit as he lived" should visit the Hall of University College, where stands (or rather sits) the original model for the fine statue of Browne by Mr. A. H. Pegram, A.R.A., which, cast in bronze, presides, urn in hand, over his own City of Norwich, a place still, as in Evelyn's day, "much addicted to the flowery part."

the emphatical Decussation, or Fundamental Figure." With a writer of Sir Thomas's erudition, one definition enfolds and involves another, and we are almost driven to explain *Decussation*—but refrain in deference to the reader's wishes—and refer him to the Diagram on our half-title (page 87)and to the Oxford Dictionary, from which the following is borrowed:—

"In Astrology, a Quincunx was an aspect of Planets at a distance of 5 signs or 150 degrees apart, and the simplest instance of a Quincunx is a die with 5 points ⁘" Philemon Holland's Pliny has "For the order of setting Trees we ought to follow the usual maner of chequer Row—called 'Quincuncial.'"

Thus far I had written when in Vernon Lee's delightful study of Compiègne and Fontainebleau[1] my eye lit on the expression "the big Quincunxed Palace," and of a sudden it was revealed to me how the essence of Browne's "Quincuncial lozenge of the Ancients" had been sucked and absorbed by his contemporaries and successors to produce those radiating groves, plantations and labyrinths, which in the map-like plates *à vol d'oiseau* of Kip and Knyff show

[1] No one who sympathises with the Genius of Gardens in Italy, France, Germany and Spain should fail to read this writer's "Genius Loci," "Enchanted Woods," and other studies breathing the true garden-spirit.

us how the squires and land-owners of Great Britain interpreted the delights of Parks, Gardens, and especially Orchards[1]: and not only in Great Britain, but at Versailles and throughout Europe—in these Quincuncial "Forests" of the Louis Quartorzians. "Great Parks mapped out and planted for Royal (and seignorial) amusement: radiations of smooth white roads from the big quincunxed Palace—(Château, Schloss, Mansion or Manor) and then more radiations along those wide grassy avenues,—green cuttings, when trees are close, deep tracks in russet leaves, when they are thin."

We may almost generalise the garden-problem in the first half of the eighteenth century, by saying that it lay in the embodiment and realisation of the theoretical Quincuncial Park-Forest expounded by Sir Thomas Browne and his disciples.

My readers I am sure would not thank me if I withheld from them the opinions of "The Garden of Cyrus" expressed by three Masters of English letters and criticism, as separate in date, thought, and expression as Samuel Johnson, Samuel Taylor

[1] See Kip's and Knyff's copper-plates in "Theatrum Magnæ Britanniæ" or Beeverel's "Délices de la Grande Bretagne."

Coleridge, and Walter Pater, who all agree upon this subject.

Johnson writes—

In the production of this sport of fancy, he considers every production of art and nature, in which he could find any decussation or approach to the form of a Quincunx; and, as a man once resolved upon ideal discoveries seldom searches long in vain, he finds his favourite figure in almost everything, whether natural or invented, ancient or modern, rude or artificial, sacred or civil; so that a reader not watchful against the power of his infusions would imagine that decussation was the great business of the world, and that nature and art had no other purpose than to exemplify and imitate a Quincunx.

Coleridge says—

Browne's ingenuity discovers Quincunxes in heaven above, Quincunxes in earth below, Quincunxes in the mind of man, Quincunxes in bones, in optic nerves, in roots of trees, in leaves, in everything.

And Walter Pater, in his urbane and gently guarded way, as if loth to hurt Browne's feelings among the Shades, but no less definitely, strikes the same note in a passage of patrician prose:—

The Garden of Cyrus, though it ends indeed with a passage of wonderful felicity, certainly emphasises (to say the least) the defects of Browne's literary good qualities. His chimeric fancy carries him here into a kind of frivolousness, as if he felt almost too safe with his public, and were himself not quite serious, or dealing fairly with it; and in a writer such as Browne levity must of necessity be a little

ponderous. Still, like one of those stiff gardens, half-way between the mediaeval garden and the true "English" garden of Temple or Walpole, actually to be seen in the background of some of the conventional portraits of that day, the fantasies of this indescribable exposition of the mysteries of the quincunx form part of the complete portrait of Browne himself; and it is in connection with it that, once or twice, the quaintly delightful pen of Evelyn comes into the correspondence[1]—in connection with the "hortulane pleasure."

Browne's Tract (or rather Letter) "Of Garlands and Coronary or Garland Plants" was addressed to John Evelyn, as we know from the autograph note in the latter's copy, and was destined to be the nucleus of the sixteenth chapter of his "Plan of a Royal Garden," of which Evelyn's own "Acetaria" was the only instalment ever published, though by no means all prepared for publication.

Browne writes on Garlands in his flowing vein and most magnificent manner—one feels he did his best for Evelyn. By whom else but Browne—or perhaps Samuel Johnson at his mightiest—could we see unrolled before our eyes such a pompous pageant of epithets as in the division of his subject into "Gestatory, Portatory, Pensile (Suspensory) or Depository, Garlands"—the very words seem woven into wreaths:

[1] See letter to Sir T. Browne, *post*, pp. 173–182.

and the superb subdivisions of "Compactile, sutile, and plectile"—and again the proud procession of triumphal adjectives, "they were convivial, festive, sacrificial, nuptial, honorary, funebrial." In the contest between Latin rhetorical grandeur and Anglo-Saxon naïveté, the battle is not always entirely to the simple and direct forms of expression. Hear Browne's measured march once more—"Their honorary crowns, triumphal, ovary, civical, obsidional." [1]

I am fully conscious of the disadvantages of giving extracts only (however long and representative) of Sir Thomas Browne's "Garden of Cyrus" and "Plants mentioned in Scripture." But if they had been printed in full, the quotations from Evelyn would have had to be omitted or curtailed. I hope therefore I have chosen the lesser evil. By printing the full Synopsis and Argument at the head of each chapter of the "Garden of Cyrus," the reader, who would have liked more text, will be enabled to follow the thread of the argument; and in view of its extraordinary diffuseness,

[1] If Sir L. Alma-Tadema had Browne's tract in his mind (in addition to Athenæus) when he painted his "Heliogabalus" and his other Roman Coronary re-incarnations, it is possible we have Browne's sonorous and trumpet-toned adjectives translated into their equivalents of glowing and richly harmonised colour!

Sir Thomas Browne's work perhaps suffers less by abridgment than that of most great writers.

His first Editor, Archbishop Tenison, expressly forbears to range his Tract on "Plants" as a studied and formal work, "which is but a collection of Occasional Essays"; and reminds us that "these essays being letters, men are not wont to set down oracles in every line they write to their acquaintance." On one point I venture to differ from most modern critics who look upon "The Garden of Cyrus" as a piece of solemn jesting or deliberate trifling on the part of its author. In my opinion, Browne was in deadly earnest about his Quincunx. His brain on this subject appears to have been fashioned of the same fibre, as I imagine those of the old believers in Astrology and Alchemy to have been. In some respects Browne's ideas belonged rather to the mediæval than to the post-Baconian period—the age in which indistinct ideas of authority, dogmatism and mysticism were so curiously mingled, when the belief in magic and witchcraft was still a prevalent form of superstition,[1] and when, as Whewell says, "men

[1] See Mr. E. Clodd's admirable exposition of the Magic-Problem in his article on "Magic and Religion" (*Q. R.*, July 1907).

associated moral, personal and mythological qualities with terms of which the primary application was to physical properties."

I must apologise also for the paucity of notes to Sir T. Browne and Evelyn. It would have been quite impossible to annotate these writers adequately without the notes swamping the text. It therefore seemed better to retain as much of the text as possible, omitting even many of the notes of Browne's learned Editor, Simon Wilkins, (whom the letters F. L. S. may have qualified to shed light through the labyrinth of botanical terms) since it is for the lover of garden literature rather than for the Botanist, that the volume is destined. Satisfactory annotation would have involved references to all the early Herbalists, and most of the modern Biblical critics and exegetists.[1]

It was said by Johnson of Edmund Burke's conversation, that he wound into his subject like a serpent. Browne's literary method might be likened rather to the coils of the python or boa-constrictor involving it in its Laocoönean embrace; or like the Octopus—that "travailleur de la mer" almost stifling and strangling his subject in the gigantic tentacles of his style. At

[1] At the end of the volume will be found a few biographical details of the chief *Primitifs* of Botany.

least we feel that Browne belongs to the breed of the Cyclopes—that muscular and monocular race of literary giants, huge of biceps, if deficient in vision and subtlety, of whom Johnson was the last and greatest representative. But we are mixing our metaphors, and "deranging our epitaphs."

Browne's interpretation of Scriptural plants may not always be right according to the latest acceptance of modern science and criticism, but he makes us think and question, and thus suggests that nothing is final in science or literature, that there is no literal and verbal infallibility.

We may learn from him that every age requires to re-investigate and re-discover the truth for itself—even scientific truth being for the most part only relative to its age and knowledge and not as so many of its exponents think—absolute and final.

If Browne was credulous in some things, in others he possessed the true and fertile spirit of scientific scepticism—let us rather say, of investigation; and no one has more urbanely expressed the virtue of this spirit as distinguished from the letter of dogmatism: "And so observing this variety of interpretations concerning common and known plants among us, you may more reasonably doubt with what propriety

or assurance other less known be sometimes rendered unto us."

May I here pause for a moment to interject the observation that there are two works yet to be undertaken for English Scholarship and Botany—one a complete Bibliography *Raisonnée*, of works on Agriculture of all ages and countries, like that of which Donaldson has compiled an instalment, which, though imperfect and inaccurate, remains the only attempt in English, unless we except Sir Ernest Clarke's hitherto unpublished lectures; and secondly, a comparative Polyglot Dictionary (such as the Syndics of one of our University Presses might well superintend) of all Botanical terms from classical times, including Theophrastus, Pliny, Virgil (Martyn's edition of the "Georgics" comes to mind as a valuable contribution), and the writers "De Re Rusticâ et Hortensi," through the mediæval and later Herbalists (of whom Dr. J. F. Payne, the distinguished Harveian Librarian, has made such scholarly studies), Parkinson and Hartlib, Ray, Weston, Linnæus and De Jussieu to our own day.

Browne's frequent citations from Theophrastus bring afresh to our notice the curious fact that the English language has never possessed a complete

translation of his "De Plantis"; and yet Theophrastus's work is the prototype and direct progenitor of the mediæval and modern Herbals, most of which have incorporated his doctrines.

For the mental struggle he has had to undergo between the rival claims of text and notes—the Editor while deciding in favour of more text hopes the critics will give him credit for great self-denial.

Think for instance of the corrections of spelling and the scope for historical garden-lore in Evelyn's "Summ of the Heads" of Chap. VII. lib. 3. of his projected "Elysium Brittannicum" (*post*, pp. 178–182); or of the "note long drawn out" which might have been written upon *March-Payne*, casually mentioned by Evelyn at p. 175, and still dear to natives of North Germany as "Marzipan"!—Why, the Elizabethan dramatists alone would furnish a quarto of quotations upon St. Mark's Bread (*Marci Panis*)!

What an opportunity for erudition do the names Laurembergius and Jacob Bobart, and Curtius *de Hortis* offer! Here is a sample of what might have been served up to the reader from this *Hortus Siccus*:—

Pierre (*Petras*) *Laurembergius*, son of Gulielmus Laurembergius (Physician and Mathematician, born 1547, died

1612; rector of Rostock University), taught philosophy at Montauban, composed the Treatise "De Horti Culturâ" alluded to by Sir T. Browne, and died in 1639.

or the following more "fleshy" anecdote about old Jacob Bobart, from "Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany," by Richard Pulteney, M.D., F.R.S. (Lond., 1790):—

I cannot ascertain the time of Bobart's death; but from the story related of him by Dr. Grey, in his edition of "Hudibras," Part I., Canto II., l. 314, he must have been living in 1704.[1] He had transformed a dead rat into the feigned figure of a dragon, which imposed upon the learned so far, that several fine copies of verses were wrote on "so rare a subject." Bobart afterwards owned the cheat; but it was preserved for some years, as a masterpiece of art. There is a print of the elder Bobart, with a distich, dated 1675, by Burghers, which confirms his German origin; but it is very scarce.

[1] He appears to have lived considerably longer, for Dr. Abel Evans dedicated "Vertumnus," a poetical epistle, to him in 1713—which contains much historical information. Bobart had formed an Hortus Siccus in twenty volumes. He is several times mentioned in these letters of Consul Sherard to Dr. Richardson, that in March 1719 the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Shipper) had compelled Bobart to resign the office of Professor, and also records his death, which happened in a very advanced age, a few months after. He was buried Dec. 30, 1719. A descendant of this family, Tillemant Bobart, is still well known to all who wish for civil treatment and a safe carriage on the road to Oxford.—"Nichols's Illustrations of Literary History," Vol. I., pp. 342, 357, 361. (MS. Note by Wm. Forsyth in B. M. copy.)

Browne's "Observations on Grafting," probably written at Evelyn's request for inclusion in his "Elysium Brittannicum," have interest as showing the position which Botanical Science had attained in the seventeenth century on the "doctrine of insitions" —in regard not only to "hortensial plants," but to all sorts of shrubs and trees, "whereby we might alter their tempers, moderate or promote their virtues, exchange their softness, hardness and colour, and so render them considerably beyond their known and trite employments." It may be interesting to some of my readers to compare Bacon's observations on grafting with those of Browne, so I transcribe the following passages from the great philosopher's "Sylva Sylvarum," only premising that Bacon conveyed some of his botanical experiences, without acknowledgment, from the pages of Baptista Porta's "Natural Magick":—

> There is no doubt but that grafting (for the most part), doth meliorate the fruit. The cause is manifest; for that the nourishment is better prepared in the stock than in the crude earth; but yet note well that there are some trees that are said to come up more happily from the kernel than from the graft; as the peach and the melocotone. . . .
>
> It hath been received, that a smaller pear grafted upon a stock that beareth a greater pear, will become great. But I think it is as true as that of the prime fruit upon the late stock, and *e converso*, which we rejected before; for the

scions will govern. Nevertheless, it is probable enough, that if you can get a scion to grow upon a stock of another kind, that is much moister than his own stock, it may make the fruit greater, because it will yield more plentiful nourishment; though it is like it will make the fruit baser. But generally the grafting is upon a drier stock; as the apple upon a crab, the pear upon a thorn, &c. Yet it is reported, that in the Low Countries, they will graft an apple-scion upon the stock of a colewart, and it will bear a great flaggy apple, the kernel of which, if it be set, will be a colewart, and not an apple. It were good to try whether an apple-scion will prosper, if it be grafted upon a sallow, or upon a poplar, or upon an alder, or upon an elm, or upon an horse-plum, which are the moistest of trees. I have heard that it hath been tried upon an elm and succeeded.

It is reported also that a citron grafted upon a quince will have small or no seeds; and it is very probable that any sour fruit grafted upon a stock that bareth a sweeter fruit, may both make the fruit sweeter and more void of the harsh matter of kernels or seeds.

By those who would pursue further the comparative study of "imping" (as William Lawson and his contemporaries called it)—evidently begotten from the German *Impfen*, to inoculate; begetting in turn our word "imp," a graft or off-shoot of Satan—interesting historical references may be found in Crescentiis, Baptista Porta, Parkinson, Leonard Meager's "Arte of Planting and Graffing," in William Lawson, and in Evelyn's translation of De Quintinye's "Fruit Gardener"; as well as in Switzer, Philip Miller, Dr. Gibson, Forsyth, and innumerable later writers.

Unfortunately we have nothing in English agricultural literature to compare with the monumental edition of Olivier De Serres' "Théâtre de l'Agriculture," prepared in 1804 under the all-embracing auspices of Napoleon's genius, to which all the scientific intellect of France contributed annotations and ameliorations, forming, as it were, the tribute of his sons in science to the glory of the Father of French Agronomists and Modern Agriculture, whom our own Arthur Young delighted to honour.

We have it on Cowley's authority [1]—and Cowley by his long and early poem on Plants, anticipating Erasmus Darwin's once highly-prized but now unduly-neglected "Botanical Garden," earned a right to an opinion upon the subject—that

> We nowhere Art do so triumphant see,
> As when it grafts or buds the tree.

The question of grafting or hybridising plants is treated in a curiously similar way by Shakespeare in "The Winter's Tale" (Act IV. scene iii.), in a dialogue between Polixenes and Perdita. The latter expresses her contempt for

> Carnations and streak'd gilly-flowers,
> Which some call nature's bastards:

[1] See *post*, p. 81.

and on being asked by Polixenes why she neglects them, Perdita replies :—

> For I have heard it said,
> There is an art which, in their piedness, shares
> With great creating nature.
> *Pol.* Say, there be ;
> Yet nature is made better by no mean,
> But nature makes that mean ; so, o'er that art,
> Which, you say, adds to nature, is an art
> That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
> A gentler scion to the wildest stock ;
> And make conceive a bark of baser kind
> By bud of nobler race ; this is an art
> Which does mend nature,—change it rather, but
> The art itself is nature.[1]

Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, Cowley's first editor, finds that Cowley's ideas are sometimes conceived and expressed in the best manner of Shakespeare, and certainly points of similarity to the above are to be found in Cowley's lines upon grafting, where he says :—

> It imitates her Maker's Power Divine,
> And changes her sometimes, and sometimes does refine.

[1] For this reference I am indebted to my old friend, who, by his recent election to the Chair of Zoology at Cambridge, has revived and continues the century-old associations of the name, Professor Adam Sedgwick, with Trinity College and the University. He drew my attention to its important philosophical bearing, as showing Shakespeare's idea that fundamentally Art and Nature are not essentially distinct. Sir Ray Lankester, in his Romanes Lecture, reprinted in "The Kingdom of Man," also alludes to the same passage.

Browne (see *post*, p. 134), quoting the ancient doctrine of Theophrastus,[1] speaks of the system eulogised by Polixenes as "agreeable with our present practice, who graft pears on thorns, and apples upon crab stocks, not using the contrary insition."

From a sympathetic monograph on Sir Thomas Browne, kindly sent me by its author, Dr. William Osler, the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford, and the possessor of the most complete collection of early editions of Browne's works, I learn that he contributed liberally to his old school at Winchester, to the rebuilding of the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and to the repairs at Christchurch, Oxford. I also borrow the following account from Dr. Osler of the contemporary portraits of Browne :—

"There are three good portraits of Sir Thomas—one in the College of Physicians, London, which is the best known, and has been often reproduced, and from which is taken the frontispiece in Greenhill's edition of the 'Religio Medici'; a second is in the Bodleian, and this also has been frequently reproduced; the third is in the vestry of St. Peter's Mancroft, Norwich. In many ways it is the most pleasing of

[1] *De Causis Plant.*, lib. i., cap. 7.

the three. There is a fourth picture, the frontispiece to the fifth edition of the 'Pseudodoxia,' but it is so unlike the others that I doubt very much if it could have been Sir Thomas." [1]

Many have discovered a physical likeness to Shakespeare—some, indeed, to Christ—in Browne's portraits. Taine has discerned in his productions a mental likeness, a kindred spirit, to Shakespeare, "who, like him, applies himself to living things, penetrates their internal structure, puts himself in communication with their actual laws . . . discerns behind visible phenomena a world obscure, yet sublime, and trembles with a kind of veneration, before the vast, indistinct, but populous abyss, on whose surface our little universe hangs quivering." [1]

Here I can do no more than allude with gratitude to Mr. Edmund Gosse's volume on Browne in the "English Men of Letters Series," one of the many in which he has illumined English Literature.

The two garden poets of our collection, Abraham Cowley and Andrew Marvell, were, in spite of their closeness of age and similarity of education, of very different poetical complexion. Cowley, the elder by

[1] "Religio Medici": An Address delivered at Guy's Hospital, 1905. Reprinted from "The Library," Jan. 1906.

three years, was born in 1618, and died at the age of forty-nine, eleven years before Marvell, who lived till 1678, thus reaching the age of fifty-seven. Both were scholars of Trinity College, Cambridge, Cowley in 1637, the year in which Marvell (who took his B.A. degree in 1638) contributed verses to "Musa Cantabrigiensis." But Marvell then travelled abroad and took the Puritan side in the great Civil struggle, whereas Cowley resided at Cambridge, composing comedies in Latin and English till he was ejected by the Parliament in 1644. He then migrated to St. John's College, Oxford, till he went abroad as secretary to Henrietta Maria, Marvell filling a like office in conjunction with Milton, as Latin secretary to Cromwell. Cowley remained a keen if somewhat timid Royalist, and issued a Pindaric ode against Cromwell, whereas Marvell published an Horatian ode in his favour. Cowley's own age hailed him in turn as its Anacreon, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Tibullus, and especially its Pindar. His "Pindarique Odes" were regarded as productions of a genius little inferior to that of his model. In fact his biographer Sprat attributes the great boldness of Cowley's metaphors and the length of his digressions to Pindar himself. Possibly next year's revival of the Olympic Game

will lead to a renewal of interest in Cowley's Olympique and Nemean Odes, and to a demand for the new edition which the Cambridge University Press has just issued. A worse thing might happen than that, as a stimulus to our laureates of all degrees, a prize should be decreed to the best Ode written "in imitation of the style and manner," not of Pindar, but of Cowley.

Satire was one of the few literary *genres* which Cowley did not attempt, whereas Marvell's irony was of the savage school of Juvenal or Swift, rather than of the more urbane Horace. The Latinity of both was on a high level. Cowley's verse was often highly charged with conceits, somewhat metaphysical, and his eulogies and panegyrics carried flattery to its full flight on far-fetched and soaring metaphor—although he could at times be natural, simple, and full of feeling, as in his elegy on the death of his friend William Harvey, which here and there strikes a tone as deep and true as the *Thyrsis* of Matthew Arnold.

But of Hobbes he writes:—

> I never yet the Living Soul could see
> But in thy books and thee.

Falkland, of whom, as Bishop Sprat tells us, "he had the entire friendship—an affection contracted by

the agreement of their learning and manners"—he adulates with more pardonable hyperbole:—

> Learning would rather chuse
> Her Bodley, or her Vatican to lose;
> All things that are but writ and printed there,
> In his unbounded breast engraven are.

And before Pope, he discovered that

> Let Nature and let Art do what they please,
> When all's done *Life is an incurable Disease.*

As writers in praise of Gardens and Country life, the palm will, I think, be given by all modern readers to Andrew Marvell. Genuine as is the love of both for the Country—and to Cowley the desire for retirement and repose was assuredly no pose—Cowley's voice is that of the scholar and the student, and his verse smells of the lamp and grates of the file, while Marvell's song brings the magic of the meadow, the breath of the flowers and new-mown hay, the swish of the scythe, and the lamp of the glow-worm right across the centuries, before our eyes and into our hearts—and we love Marvell's poems, while at the best we can only admire and sympathise with Cowley's verse.

The latter's elaborate set-piece on Plants we recognise at once for what it purported to be, viz. an

elaborate treatise in the Virgilian manner upon Botany and the Physic Garden; it was indeed Cowley's contribution to the Literature of Medicine. It is interesting as the forerunner of Erasmus Darwin's "Botanical Garden"[1] and Goethe's "Metamorphosis of Plants,"[2] to name only two of the more famous attempts to poetise the science of Botany. We quote Cowley's own pharmaceutical metaphor: "The two little Books" (subsequently expanded into six) "are offer'd as small Pills made up of sundry Herbs, and gilt with a certain brightness of Style; he does not desire to press out their Liquor crude in a simple enumeration, but as it were in a Limbeck by the gentle Heat of Poetry to distil and extract their Spirits."

As I have said so much about this poem, it is perhaps only fair to Cowley and to the reader, to give a specimen of it; and I take his comparison of a Walnut with the Brain-pan of a man, as typical alike of the ingenuity of Cowley, of the medical tendency of the poem, and of the treatment of his

[1] It is curious that Krause, when discussing the genesis and predecessors of Darwin's poem, omits all mention of Cowley's, which had strong affinity with it.

[2] So admirably translated by Professor Blackie in his "Wisdom of Goethe."

theme, which looks as if he accepted the Doctrine of Signatures :—

Nor can this Head-like Nut, shap'd like the Brain
Within, be said that Form by chance to gain,
Or *Caryon*[1] call'd by learned *Greeks* in vain.
For Membranes soft as Silk, her Kernel bind,
Whereof the inmost is of tendrest kind,
Like those which on the Brain[2] of Man we find;
All which are in a Seam-join'd Shell enclos'd,
Which of this Brain the Skull may be suppos'd.
This very Skull envelop'd is again
In a green Coat, his *Pericranion*.
Lastly, that no Objection may remain,
To thwart her near Alliance to the Brain;
She nourishes the Hair, remembring how
Herself deform'd without her leaves does show:
On barren Scalps she makes fresh Honours grow.

I ought to add that Cowley wrote the poem in Latin, and the translation of Book V., from which the above is extracted, was the work of Nahum Tate, who succeeded Shadwell as Poet-Laureate in 1690, having in 1697 published a poem on the "Art of Angling" which went into several editions, but which I do not remember Mr. Andrew Lang baiting his literary hook with.

Cowley's ashes were deemed worthy to rest in Westminster Abbey, near those of Chaucer and

[1] Κάρυον = a nut.
[2] *Mater pia* and dura Mater.—Cowley's Note.

Spenser, and the King delivered himself of what Sprat considered his best epitaph: "that Mr. Cowley had not left a better man behind him in England." Perhaps a more fitting one were the words of his brother poet, Sir John Denham:—

> Horace's Wit and Virgil's State
> He did not steal, but emulate:
> And when he would like them appear,
> Their Garb, but not their Cloaths did wear.

In Marvell's poem, "Upon Appleton House," addressed to Lord Fairfax, in Hudibrastic metre, (too long to quote at length,) are continuous allusions to Gardens. One of the early owners, it seems, had a touch of Uncle Toby in his composition:—

> Who, when retirèd here to peace,
> His warlike studies could not cease;
> But laid these gardens out in sport
> In the just figure of a fort;
> And with five bastions it did fence
> As aiming one for ev'ry sense.
> . . . . . .
> See how the flow'rs as at parade
> Under their colours stand displaid;
> Each regiment in order grows,
> That of the tulips, pinke and rose.
> . . . . . .
> Tulips, in several colours barr'd,
> Were then the Switzers of our Guard.[1]

[1] Allusion to the Papal Swiss Guard, whose striped uniforms still in use were designed by Michael Angelo.

> The Gardiner had the Souldier's place,
> And his more gentle forts did trace;
> The Nursery of all things green
> Was then the only magazeen.

We may not linger longer with the Laureate of the lowly Glow-worm, but follow loftier Lights, who

Λαμπάδια ἔχοντες διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις.

In Temple we saw a retired Statesman and Diplomatist devoting his leisure to Gardening. The practice of Politics was one of the few forms of action that John Evelyn took no lively share in—though he was too much a *Civis Mundi* not to be intellectually interested in that, as in most other things. Unlike Edmund Burke, who also, as we learn from his correspondence with Arthur Young, busied himself with practical farming, and in politics, according to Goldsmith,

> Narrowed his mind,
> And to party gave up, what was meant for mankind.

Evelyn made mankind his constant study, and no one better fulfilled Terence's maxim, as was abundantly testified by his anxiety about the condition and relief of the poor discharged seamen, when he was appointed Commissioner for the Care of the Sick, Wounded, and Prisoners in the Dutch War.

Bookman and library-lover as he was, Grolier's generously genial motto, *Sibi et Amicis*, would not have sufficed the large-hearted and -minded Evelyn, for whom *Mundo et Sibi* would have better expressed his far-reaching humanity. Not only may he stand for the fine flower of English gentlehood of his day, but he offers the broadest and fullest example of Carolean culture and conduct, as Sidney fitly represents these qualities in the Elizabethan period. It is true that none of Evelyn's numerous writings scales the poetic peaks of Sidney's "Arcadia"—nor glows with the fiery fervour of his "Defence of Poesie." In Evelyn, the chivalry and urbanity of his character and style—interchangeable words—are toned and tinctured by something of the chill autumnal hues of Puritan austerity—or are modified by the sweet seriousness, as well as reasonableness of Falkland, who died a martyr to moderation and the middle course. Although Evelyn held aloof from the storm and stress of politics and revolution, and as a moral-minded man was revolted by the scandalous licence and dissoluteness of Charles's Court, he was a trusted adviser to Charles II. and his brother; and as Member of the Council of Foreign Plantations (or as we should now say, of the Colonies) and a Commissioner of the Privy Seal, he served both

Sovereigns; in brief, as Sir Leslie Stephen writes rather irreconcileably, he was a hearty but cautious Royalist. The libertine levity of the Restoration reaction, its assertion of the "Will to Live," and to enjoy life in its porcine way, was an offence to his delicacy and refinement.

Of the many subjects touched with his hand or pen, there was hardly one to which he did not lend lustre, for his own age at least. In nearly all he was a teacher, a friend of those who would "live in the spirit," or excel in the artistry of life. Whether the subject were Painting, Architecture, Forestry, Agriculture, Gardens, Engraving, the installation or foundation of Libraries, Religion, Commerce, Lucretius's great Epicurean poem, the formation of the Royal Society, the rebuilding of London, the structure of the Earth, the abolition of the Smoke nuisance—even the fashions, follies and dress of his generation—in one and all he was an originator, a pioneer, a reformer, or a meliorator—either by his own example and in his own person, by his writings, or the interpretation of other men's. To few men has it been granted to spread so wide a range of excellence over so long a life and so many different branches of art and literature; and to crown all, he has left in his

Diary, as an eye-witness, a commentary on the Life and History of his generation, second only, in relation to its age, to the Annals of Tacitus or the Memoirs of Saint-Simon.

As Treasurer to Greenwich Hospital and in other administrative offices, he was often in close touch with Charles II., who highly valued his opinion, and was actually persuaded by Evelyn's advice to introduce a permanent standard and style for men's dress—but the inconstant King altered the fashion again within the year. Of most of the great intellects of his day—British and Foreign—Boyle, Bentley, Wotton, Sir Thomas Browne, Gassendi, Peiresc, Wren, Pepys, Meric Casaubon, Clarendon, Cowley, Wilkins, Jeremy Taylor, Dugdale, Hollar, Gibbons—Evelyn was the friend, the correspondent, or the patron.

Oxford owes to him the Arundel marbles, and other benefactions to Museum and Library; he was one of the Founders, for a year the Secretary, and twice refused the Presidency, of the Royal Society—besides contributing many papers to its Philosophical Transactions ; and in its archives may still lurk Lord Sandwich's descriptions of the Gardens and Villas of Spain, which he, when Ambassador, sent Evelyn, from Madrid—"many sheets of paper written in his own hand"—although the *Sem-*

brador or Plough, which Evelyn gave to the Society, and described in its "Transactions," is probably long since broken up for firewood.

His translation of the five remaining books of Lucretius (he published two editions of his version of Book I.) possibly "still lies in the dust of my study, where it is likely to be for ever buried" (Letter to Meric Casaubon from Sayes Court: July 15, 1674); and possibly in the Library at Wotton (for I have ascertained from Professor Church it is not in the keeping of the Royal Society) reposes Evelyn's translation of Naudé "On Libraries," which he had himself prepared for a second impression, having suppressed as many copies as he could of the imperfect and badly-printed first issue.

In short, Evelyn proved the possibility of being both a citizen of the world and a true patriot—and in his own person identified these usually irreconcilable *rôles*. He was a signal instance of self-respect earning the respect of his race.

Love for his character has led me somewhat from the path—the garden-path—of Evelyn's 'hortulan' career. His "Kalendarium Hortense" and "Acetaria; or Discourse of Sallets" have been often reprinted and commented upon in Books of Gardening

and Gastronomy; and his "Sylva"—although the last and best edition by Dr. A. Hunter, F.R.S., of York, was published in 1786—still remains one of the classics—certainly the literary classic—of its subject. I have therefore chosen for reproduction here—and I hope the Garden-maniac ⁂ (the word is not mine, but the Prince de Ligne's!) will approve my selection—his more important letters on the history and literature of Gardens—his *Scenario* or Epitome of a History of Gardens—which will be of priceless suggestion to *the* Historian of Gardens, when he shall at last appear; and, finally, the descriptions of Gardens in England and on the Continent, which he visited throughout his travels—one may almost say, throughout the long journey of his life.

O si sic omnes! If peradventure one "righteous" traveller and Garden fanatic—and their number is legion—would so describe the gardens of our own generation—not only as "Country Life" is doing it in word and picture—fine as that is—but in the true spirit of that observer and chronicler, John Evelyn. With all our interest, real and assumed, in Gardens, I do not know of any lately published account of Gardens in Britain or abroad that will be to future generations of quite the living and abiding historical and archæological

value, that these scattered notices of Evelyn possess fo us. A century later Arthur Young followed in his footsteps, and to some extent achieved a similar result, but his object was rather the observation and improvement of the Science of Agriculture than the Fine Art of Gardening.

The "Plan of a Royal Garden," or *Elysium Brittannicum* (perhaps inspired by Bacon), is a magnificent *synopsis* or torso, to which it is not too late to hope that other fragments, (besides the "Acetaria" and Browne's treaties on "Grafting" and "Garlands," printed hereafter,) may yet be restored: for that same library at Wotton may one day yield up to a patient and grateful posterity the MS. which, we have Evelyn's own word for it, he left in a more or less complete state. In his letter to Sir Thomas (then Dr.) Browne he writes of having "tolerably finished" as far as Chapter XI., Lib. II.,[1] which is "Of Statues, Busts, Obelisks," &c.;[2] and says definitely that Chapter VII. of the last Book "is in a manner finished." The contents of this important chapter are fully set out in his Postscript (pp. 178–182), and this alone would be an inestimable gift to the lover of Garden History.

Evelyn was not only a writer, but a prophet. In

[1] See *post*, p. 177. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

one of his lesser-known writings, "*Fumifugium :* or the Inconveniencie of the Aer and Smoke of London dissipated," he not only anticipates the labours of the Kyrle Society, or that for the Abatement of the Smoke Nuisance, but he has forestalled Mr. Ebenezer Howard in his plan for the creation of Garden Cities.

London was to have been the first great Garden City, and by this means the Smoke of London was to be neutralised and abated.

The quotation is rather lengthy, but nothing could better represent Evelyn's dual character as a lover of the City and of the Country alike : if his plan could have been realised, the separation of the two would have almost ceased to exist.—Those who dispute his claim to be ranked amongst the Prophets, will not deny Evelyn's right to canonisation amongst his own *Paradisi Cultores* —Paradisean and Hortulan Saints.

His proposed remedy was :—

That all low grounds circumjacent to the city, especially east and south-west, be cast and contriv'd into square plots, or fields of twenty, thirty and forty akers or more, separated from each other by fences of double palisads, or contr'-spaliars, which should enclose a plantation of an hundred and fifty, or more, feet deep about each field; not much unlike to what his Majesty has already begun by the wall from old Spring Garden to St. James's in that park; and is somewhat resembled in the new Spring Garden at Lambeth. That these palisads be elegantly planted, diligently kept and

supply'd, with such shrubs as yield the most fragrant and odoriferous flowers, and are aptest to tinge the Aer upon every gentle emission at a great distance: such as are (for instance among many others) the sweet-brier, all the periclymena's and woodbines; the common white and yellow jessamine, both the syringa's or pipe trees; the guelder rose, the musk, and all other roses; genista hispanica: to these may be added the rubus odoratus, bayes juniper, lignum-vitæ, lavender: but above all, rosemary, the flowers whereof are credibly reported to give their scent above thirty leagues off at sea, upon the coasts of Spain: and at some distance towards the meadow side, vines; yea, hops

——Et arbuta passim,
Et glaucas salices, casiamque crocumque rubentem,
Et pinguem tiliam, & ferrugineos hyacinthos.

For there is a sweet smelling sally,[1] and the blossoms of the tilia or lime-tree,[2] are incomparably fragrant; in brief, whatsoever is odoriferous and refreshing.

That the spaces or area between these palisads and fences, be employ'd in beds and bordures of pinks, carnations, clove, stock-gilly-flower, primroses, auriculas, violets, not forgetting the white, which are in flower twice a year, April and August: cowslips, lilies, narcissus, strawberries, whose very leaves as well as fruit emit a cardiaque, and most refreshing halitus: also parietaria lutea, musk lemmon, and mastick, thyme, spike, cammomile, balm, mint, majoram, pempernel, and serpillum, &c. which, upon the least pressure and cutting, breathe out and betray their ravishing odors.

That the fields, and crofts within these closures, or invironing gardens, be some of them planted with wild thyme, and others reserved for plots of beans, pease (not cabbages, whose rotten and perishing stalks have a very noisom and

[1] Sallow or willow.

[2] It has been conjectured that probably the lime-trees in St. James's Park were planted in consequence of this suggestion.

unhealthy smell, and therefore by Hypocrates utterly condemned near great cities) but such blossom-bearing brain as send forth their virtue at farthest distance, and are all of them marketable at London; by which means, the aer and winds perpetually fann'd from so many circling and encompassing hedges, fragrant shrubs, trees and flowers, (the amputation and pruning of whose superfluities may in winter, on some occasions of weather and winds, be burnt, to visit the city with a more benign smoak,) not onely all that did approach the region which is properly design'd to be flowery; but even the whole City would be sensible of the sweet and ravishing varieties of the perfumes, as well of the most delightful and pleasant objects and places of recreation for the inhabitants; yielding also a prospect of a noble and masculine majesty, by reason of the frequent plantations of trees, and nurseries for ornament, profit, and security.

The remainder of the fields included yielding the same, and better shelter, and pasture for sheep and cattle then now; that they lie bleak, expos'd and abandon'd to the winds, which perpetually invade them.

That, to this end, the gardiners (which now cultivate the upper, more drie, and ungrateful soil), be encouraged to begin plantations in such places onely: and the further exorbitant encrease of tenements, poor and nasty cottages near the City, be prohibited, which disgrace and take off from the sweetness and amoenity of the environs of London, and are already become a great eye-sore in the grounds opposite to his Majesty's Palace of White-hall; which being converted to this use, might yield a diversion inferior to none that could be imagin'd for health, profit, and beauty, which are the three transcendencies that render a palace without all exception.

And this is what (in short) I had to offer, for the improvement and melioration of the Aer about London, and with which I shall conclude this discourse.

APPENDIX

A Short List of Evelyn's Works on Gardening, Forestry and Agriculture:—

'Sylva' and 'Pomona,' 1664. Sixth ed., 1786, by A. Hunter, M.D., F.R.S.

'Kalendarium Hortense,' 1664. Tenth ed., 1706.

'Acetaria, a Discourse of Sallets,' 1699.

Translations:—

'The French Gardener,' 1658. Fourth ed., 1691.

'The Compleat Gard'ner' (from the French of La Quintinye's *Instructions pour les jardins fruitiers et potagers*), 1693.

'Of Gardens,' from the Latin of René Rapin (published by Evelyn, but by his son).

'A Letter to Lord Brouncker on a New Machine for Ploughing.'

'Terra: A Philosophical Discourse of Earth,' 1676. Reprinted 1778 by A. Hunter, M.D., F.R.S.

WILL AND CODICIL OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice.

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Moreparke, March 8, 1694/5. After having made several other Wills in more form I shall make this as short as I can to avoid those cruel remembrances that have so often occasioned the changing of them God's holy name be praised His will be done Being therefore in perfect health and sense at the writing hereof I leave to my sister Giffard my lease of Blansby in Yorkshire from the Crown for three lives now in being as likewise my Colledge lease of lands near Armagh in Ireland with all right title and interest I have therein or shall have at the time of my decease to be held and enjoyed by her my said sister during her life and after her death I leave both the said leases to my nephew John Temple I leave my house in the Pell Mell with my right and title therein unto my daughter in law Mrs. Mary Temple during her life and after her death to her two daughters Elizabeth and Dorothy Temple I

leave my Colledge lease of Clownes in Ireland to my nephew John Temple I leave to my grand child Elizabeth Temple my inlaid cabinet my gold watch and seales with all the gold or silver I shall leave in my closet at the time of my death I leave all my goods stock and furniture whatsoever at Moreparke with pictures statues books purcelane to goe along and remain with the said house that is to the use of my sister Giffard during her life and after that successively to those persons to whom I have or shall by deed dispose the said house and lands with the rest of my estate late in Joynture to my dear wife desiring and appointing that my said house may be transmitted to them in the same condicon I shall leave it and as a possession or jewel I most love and esteem for many reasons I leave all the rest of my money debts goods plate or other personal estate not used commonly at More Parke nor disposed of by this or any succeeding will In the first place to the discharge of what debts I shall leave unpaid at the time of my death or what legacies I shall leave by this or any succeeding will and the whole remainder of any and all such personal estate I leave and appoint to be divided into four equall parts whereof I leave one to my sister one to each of my two grandchildren and a fourth to my two brothers

and of this last three parts to Sr John Temple and two to Mr. Henry Temple I leave for a legacy to Bridget Johnson Ralph More and Lennard Robinson twenty pounds apeice with half a years wages to them and all my other servants and twenty pounds to the poor of the Parish of Farnham I leave a lease of some lands I have in Morristown in the County of Wickloe in Ireland to Esther Johnson servant to my sister Giffard I leave and appoint my brothers Sr John Temple and Henry Temple and my sister Dame Martha Giffard Executors and Executrix of this my last Will and Testament I desire my body may be interred at Westminster Abby near those two dear pledges gone before me but with as much privacy and as small expence as my Executors shall find convenient And I desire and appoint that my heart may be interred six foot under ground on the South East side of the stone dyal in my little garden at Moreparke In witness of all which I have hereunto set my hand and seale this eighth day of March 1694—W. Temple. Signed and sealed in presence of—Thomas Swift—Leonard Robinson—Ralph More.

Upon this 2d of Feby 1697/8 I have thought fitt to add this codicill to my will whereas by a clause of

my said will and testamt one fourth part of my personal estate (above debts and legacies) is left between my two brothers and whereas it has pleased God that I have since outlived one of them I doe now appoint and leave out of the said fourth part one hundred pounds to my cousin William Dingley student at Oxford and another hundred pounds to Mr. Jonathan Swift now dwelling with me and to free my Executors from the trouble of choosing where to lay me I do order it to be in the West Ile of Westminster Abby near those two dear pledges that lye there already and that after mine and my sisters decease a large stone of black marble may be set up against the wall with this inscription—Sibi suisq Charissimis Dianae Temple dilectissimae filiae Dorotheae Osborne conjunctissimae conjugi et Marthae Giffard Optimae Sorori Hoc qualecunq monumentum poni curavi Gulielmus Temple Temple Baronettus—W. Temple. Signed and sealed in presence of M. Giffard—B. Johnson—Leonard Robinson.

Proved with a Codicil 29th March, 1699.

NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS

A FEW words about the Illustrations to the Volume. For the portrait of Temple I have chosen George Vertue's engraving, dated 1679, prefixed to the folio of 1731, after one of Lely's portraits, of which I believe four are known—at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, at Broadlands, and at Chicksand Priory: at Coddenham is, or was, a portrait of Temple as a youth of eighteen, with a hunting-spear and greyhound.

Besides Vertue's there are other engravings by Vanderbanc (a very handsome portrait prefixed to Courtenay's *Life*); by R. White (in Letters collected by Swift, 1700); by Houbracken (curiously preferred by Mr. Seccombe in his article on Temple in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*); and by Vandergucht (in Boyer's *Life of Temple*).

Most of the engravings bear the motto chosen by Temple from Lucan, describing the character of old Cato — *Servare modum, finemque tueri, Naturamque Sequi:* which fine Stoic legend may still be read over the Portico at More Park, Farnham. Some might have

expected a follower of Epicurus to prefer a Lucretian line, but Temple appears to have been a Stoic in character (witness his behaviour on the suicide of his son), and an Epicurean in temperament and intellect; at their best and highest the two Philosophies are one.

The other five Illustrations of Royal Palaces and Gardens are from the margin of a curious and somewhat rare Map of London and its Environs, published at Nüremberg about 1725, by Johann Baptista Homann, a pupil or assistant of Sandrart and Funck. Homann has been made the subject of a learned monograph by Dr. Christian Sandler,[1] and I am indebted to Mr. Soulsby, Head of the Map Department in the British Museum, for kindly referring me to this source of information (which ascribes my map to J. B. Homann's second son), and for fixing its approximate date as 1725.

[1] *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, No. 124, 1886.

CONTENTS

PAGE

DEDICATION ix

INTRODUCTION xi

APPENDIX

Evelyn's Works on Gardening . . lxi

Will and Codicil of Sir W. Temple . lxii

Note on Illustrations lxvi

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS lxxi

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE: Upon the Gardens of Epicurus; or, of Gardening in the Year 1685 3

ABRAHAM COWLEY: The Garden . . . 69

SIR THOMAS BROWNE

The Epistle Dedicatory . . . 89

The Garden of Cyrus. Chap. I. . 93

Chap. II. . 101

Chap. III. . 102

Chap. IV. . 106

Chap. V. . 111

Observations upon Several Plants mentioned in Scripture 113

PAGE

Sir Thomas Browne

Of Garlands and Coronary or Garland Plants 151

Observations on Grafting . . . 158

Andrew Marvell

The Garden 165

The Mower against Gardens . . 169

John Evelyn

Garden Letters 173

The Plan of a Royal Garden . . 193

Garden Cuttings from Diary . . 199

Biographical Notes 257

Index 265

ILLUSTRATIONS

PORTRAIT OF SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE *Frontispiece*
Engraved by George Vertue after Sir Peter Lely.

HAMPTON COURT PALACE AND GARDENS . . . *To face page* 3

WINDSOR PALACE AND GARDENS . ,, ,, 69

CHELSEA HOSPITAL AND GARDENS . ,, ,, 87

KENSINGTON PALACE AND GARDENS . ,, ,, 165

GREENWICH HOSPITAL AND GARDENS ,, ,, 173

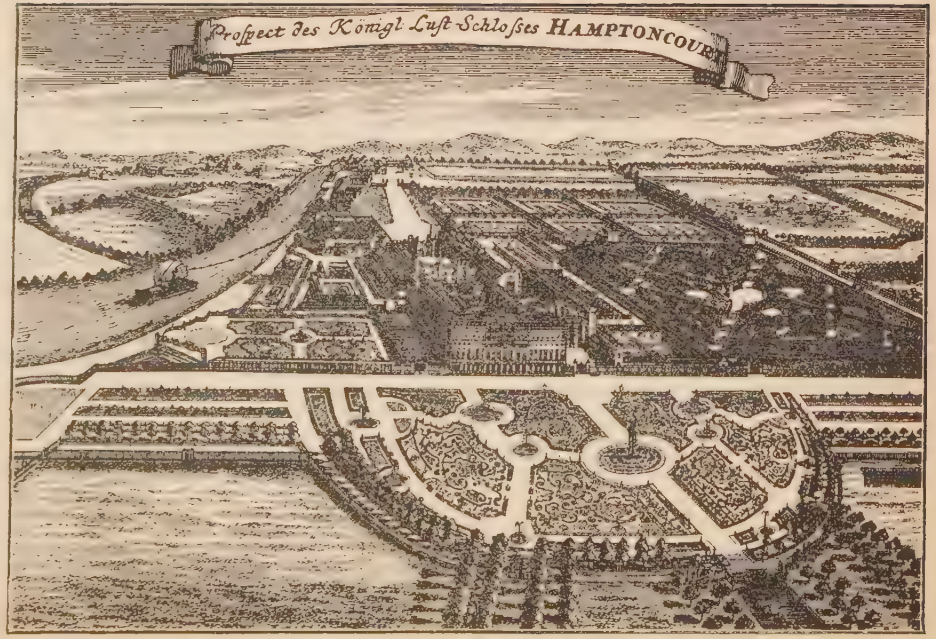
These five Garden Views are from engravings on the margin of a Map of London and Environs, published at Nüremberg by Johann Baptista Homann about 1725.

UPON THE GARDENS OF EPICURUS; OR OF GARDENING IN THE YEAR 1685

BY

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE

(1628–1698)



THE GRAND PARTERRE: HAMPTON COURT.

UPON THE
GARDENS OF EPICURUS;
OR OF GARDENING IN THE YEAR 1685

THE same faculty of reason which gives mankind the great advantage and prerogative over the rest of the creation, seems to make the greatest default of human nature; and subjects it to more troubles, miseries, or at least disquiets of life, than any of its fellow-creatures: 'tis this furnishes us with such variety of passions, and consequently of wants and desires, that none other feels; and these followed by infinite designs and endless pursuits, and improved by that restlessness of thought which is natural to most men, give him a condition of life suitable to that of his birth; so that as he alone is born crying, he lives complaining, and dies disappointed.

Since we cannot escape the pursuit of passions, and perplexity of thoughts, which our reason furnishes us, there is no way left but to endeavour all we can, either to subdue or to divert them. This last is the common business of common men, who seek it by all sorts of

sports, pleasures, play or business. But because the two first are of short continuance, soon ending with weariness, or decay of vigour and appetite, the return whereof must be attended, before the others can be renewed; and because play grows dull if it be not enlivened with the hopes of gain, the general diversion of mankind seems to be business, or the pursuit of riches in one kind or other; which is an amusement that has this one advantage above all others, that it lasts those men who engage in it to the very ends of their lives; none ever growing too old for the thoughts and desires of increasing his wealth and fortunes, either for himself, his friends, or his posterity.

In the first and most simple ages of each country, the conditions and lives of men seem to have been very near of kin with the rest of the creatures; they lived by the hour, or by the day, and satisfied their appetite with what they could get from the herbs, the fruits, the springs they met with when they were hungry or dry; then, with what fish, fowl, or beasts they could kill, by swiftness or strength, by craft or contrivance, by their hands, or such instruments as wit helped or necessity forced them to invent. When a man had got enough for the day, he laid up the rest for the morrow, and spent one day in labour, that he might pass the other

at ease; and lured on by the pleasure of this bait, when he was in vigour, and his game fortunate, he would provide for as many days as he could, both for himself and his children, that were too young to seek out for themselves. Then he cast about, how by sowing of grain, and by pasture of the tamer cattle, to provide for the whole year. After this, dividing the lands necessary for these uses, first among children, and then among servants, he reserved to himself a proportion of their gain, either in the native stock, or something equivalent, which brought in the use of money; and where this once came in none was to be satisfied, without having enough for himself and his family, and all his and their posterity for ever; so that I know a certain lord who professes to value no lease, though for an hundred or a thousand years, nor any estate or possession of land, that is not for ever and ever.

From such small beginnings have grown such vast and extravagant designs of poor mortal men: yet none could ever answer the naked Indian, why one man should take pains, and run hazards by sea and land all his life, that his children might be safe and lazy all theirs: and the precept of taking no care for to-morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the world, seems but to reduce mankind to their natural

and original condition of life. However, by these ways and degrees, the endless increase of riches seems to be grown the perpetual and general amusement, or business of mankind.

Some few in each country make those higher flights after honour and power, and to these ends sacrifice their riches, their labour, their thought, and their lives; and nothing diverts nor busies men more than these pursuits, which are usually covered with the pretences of serving a man's country, and of public good. But the true service of the public is a business of so much labour and so much care, that though a good and wise man may not refuse it, if he be called to it by his prince or his country, and thinks he can be of more than vulgar use, yet he will seldom or never seek it; but leaves it commonly to men, who, under the disguise of public good, pursue their own designs of wealth, power, and such bastard honours as usually attend them, not that which is the true, and only true reward of virtue.

The pursuits of ambition, though not so general, yet are as endless as those of riches, and as extravagant; since none ever yet thought he had power or empire enough: and what prince soever seems to be so great, as to live and reign without any further desires or fears,

falls into the life of a private man, and enjoys but those pleasures and entertainments which a great many several degrees of private fortune will allow, and as much as human nature is capable of enjoying.

The pleasures of the senses grow a little more choice and refined; those of imagination are turned upon embellishing the scenes he chooses to live in; ease, conveniency, elegancy, magnificence, are sought in building first, and then in furnishing houses or palaces: the admirable imitations of nature are introduced by pictures, statues, tapestry, and other such achievements of arts. And the most exquisite delights of sense are pursued, in the contrivance and plantation of gardens; which with fruits, flowers, shades, fountains, and the music of birds that frequent such happy places, seem to furnish all the pleasures of the several senses, and with the greatest, or at least the most natural perfections.

Thus the first race of Assyrian kings, after the conquests of Ninus and Semiramis, passed their lives, till their empire fell to the Medes. Thus the Caliphs of Egypt, till deposed by their Mamalukes. Thus passed the latter parts of those great lives of Scipio, Lucullus, Augustus, Diocletian. Thus turned the great thoughts of Henry the Second of France, after

the end of his wars with Spain. Thus the present King of Morocco, after having subdued all his competitors, passes his life in a country villa, gives audience in a grove of orange-trees planted among purling streams. And thus the King of France, after all the successes of his councils or arms, and in the mighty elevation of his present greatness and power, when he gives himself leisure from such designs or pursuits, passes the softer and easier parts of his time in country houses and gardens, in building, planting, or adorning the scenes, or in the common sports and entertainments of such kind of lives. And those mighty emperors, who contented not themselves with these pleasures of common humanity, fell into the frantic or the extravagant; they pretended to be gods, or turned to be devils, as Caligula and Nero, and too many others known enough in story.

Whilst mankind is thus generally busied or amused, that part of them, who have had either the justice or the luck to pass in common opinion for the wisest and the best part among them, have followed another and very different scent; and instead of the common designs of satisfying their appetites and their passions, and making endless provisions for both, they have chosen what they thought a nearer and surer way to the

ease and felicity of life, by endeavouring to subdue, or at least to temper their passions, and reduce their appetites to what nature seems only to ask and to need. And this design seems to have brought philosophy into the world, at least that which is termed moral, and appears to have an end not only desirable by every man, which is the ease and happiness of life, but also in some degree suitable to the force and reach of human nature: for as to that part of philosophy which is called natural, I know no end it can have, but that of either busying a man's brains to no purpose, or satisfying the vanity so natural to most men of distinguishing themselves, by some way or other, from those that seem their equals in birth, and the common advantages of it: and whether this distinction be made by wealth or power, or appearance of knowledge, which gains esteem and applause in the world, is all a case. More than this, I know no advantage mankind has gained by the progress of natural philosophy, during so many ages it has had vogue in the world, excepting always, and very justly, what we owe to the mathematics, which is in a manner all that seems valuable among the civilized nations, more than those we call barbarous, whether they are so or no, or more so than ourselves.

How ancient this natural philosophy has been in the

world is hard to know; for we find frequent mention of ancient philosophers in this kind, among the most ancient now extant with us. The first who found out the vanity of it seems to have been Solomon, of which discovery he has left such admirable strains in Ecclesiastes. The next was Socrates, who made it the business of his life to explode it, and introduce that which we call moral in its place, to busy human minds to better purpose. And indeed, whoever reads with thought what these two, and Marcus Antoninus, have said upon the vanity of all that mortal man can ever attain to know of nature, in its originals or operations, may save himself a great deal of pains, and justly conclude, that the knowledge of such things is not our game; and (like the pursuit of a stag by a little spaniel) may serve to amuse and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think those three I have named, may justly pass for the wisest triumvirate that are left us upon the records of story or of time.

After Socrates, who left nothing in writing, many sects of philosophers began to spread in Greece, who entered boldly upon both parts of natural and moral philosophy. The first with the greatest disagreement, and the most eager contention that could be upon the

greatest subjects: as, whether the world were eternal, or produced at some certain time? Whether, if produced, it was by some eternal mind, and to some end, or by the fortuitous concourse of atoms, or some particles of eternal matter? Whether there was one world, or many? Whether the soul of man was a part of some ethereal and eternal substance, or was corporeal? Whether, if eternal, it was so before it came into the body, or only after it went out? There were the same contentions about the motions of the heavens, the magnitude of the celestial bodies, the faculties of the mind, and the judgment of the senses. But all the different schemes of nature that have been drawn of old, or of late, by Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Descartes, Hobbes, or any other that I know of, seem to agree but in one thing, which is, the want of demonstration or satisfaction, to any thinking and unpossessed man; and seem more or less probable one than another, according to the wit and eloquence of the authors and advocates that raise or defend them; like jugglers' tricks, that have more or less appearance of being real, according to the dexterousness and skill of him that plays 'em; whereas perhaps, if we were capable of knowing truth and nature, these fine schemes would prove like rover shots, some nearer and some further

off, but all at great distance from the mark; it may be, none in sight.

Yet in the midst of these and many other such disputes and contentions in their natural philosophy, they seem to agree much better in their moral; and upon their inquiries after the ultimate end of man, which was his happiness, their contentions or differences seemed to be rather in words, than in the sense of their opinions, or in the true meaning of their several authors or masters of their sects: all concluded that happiness was the chief good, and ought to be the ultimate end of man; that as this was the end of wisdom, so wisdom was the way to happiness. The question then was, in what this happiness consisted? The contention grew warmest between the Stoics and Epicureans; the other sects in this point siding in a manner with one or the other of these in their conceptions or expressions. The Stoics would have it to consist in virtue, and the Epicureans in pleasure; yet the most reasonable of the Stoics made the pleasure of virtue to be the greatest happiness; and the best of the Epicureans made the greatest pleasure to consist in virtue; and the difference between these two seems not easily discovered. All agreed, the greatest temper, if not the total subduing of passion,

and exercise of reason, to be the state of the greatest felicity: to live without desires or fears, or those perturbations of mind and thought, which passions raise: to place true riches in wanting little, rather than in possessing much; and true pleasure in temperance, rather than in satisfying the senses: to live with indifference to the common enjoyments and accidents of life, and with constancy upon the greatest blows of fate or of chance; not to disturb our minds with sad reflections upon what is past, nor with anxious cares or raving hopes about what is to come; neither to dispute life with the fears of death, nor death with the desires of life; but in both, and in all things else, to follow nature, seem to be the precepts most agreed among them.

Thus reason seems only to have been called in, to allay those disorders which itself had raised, to cure its own wounds, and pretends to make us wise no other way, than by rendering us insensible. This at least was the profession of many rigid Stoics, who would have had a wise man, not only without any sort of passion, but without any sense of pain, as well as pleasure; and to enjoy himself in the midst of diseases and torments, as well as of health and ease: a principle, in my mind, against common nature and common sense; and which might have told us in fewer words,

or with less circumstance, that a man, to be wise, should not be a man; and this perhaps might have been easy enough to believe, but nothing so hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their notion, and fortunate in their expressions, when they placed a man's happiness in the tranquillity of mind, and indolence of body; for while we are composed of both, I doubt both must have a share in the good or ill we feel. As men of several languages say the same things in very different words; so in several ages, countries, constitutions of laws and religion, the same thing seems to be meant by very different expressions: what is called by the Stoics, apathy, or dispassion; by the Sceptics, indisturbance; by the Molinists, quietism; by common men, peace of conscience; seems all to mean but great tranquillity of mind, though it be made to proceed from so diverse causes, as human wisdom, innocence of life, or resignation to the will of God. An old usurer had the same notion, when he said, *No man could have peace of conscience, that run out of his estate;* not comprehending what else was meant by that phrase, besides true quiet and content of mind; which, however expressed, is, I suppose, meant by all, to be the best account that can be given of the happiness of man, since no man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondered how such sharp and violent invectives came to be made so generally against Epicurus, by the ages that followed him, whose admirable wit, felicity of expression, excellence of nature, sweetness of conversation, temperance of life, and constancy of death, made him so beloved by his friends, admired by his scholars, and honoured by the Athenians. But this injustice may be fastened chiefly upon the envy and malignity of the Stoics at first, then upon the mistakes of some gross pretenders to his sect (who took pleasure only to be sensual), and afterwards, upon the piety of the primitive Christians, who esteemed his principles of natural philosophy more opposite to those of our religion, than either the Platonists, the Peripatetics, or Stoics themselves: yet, I confess, I do not know why the account given by Lucretius of the Gods, should be thought more impious than that given by Homer, who makes them not only subject to all the weakest passions, but perpetually busy in all the worst or meanest actions of men.

But Epicurus has found so great advocates of his virtue, as well as learning and inventions, that there need no more; and the testimonies of Diogenes Laertius alone seem too sincere and impartial to be

disputed, or to want the assistance of modern authors: if all failed, he will be but too well defended by the excellence of so many of his sect in all ages, and especially of those who lived in the compass of one, but the greatest in story, both as to persons and events: I need name no more than Cæsar, Atticus, Mæcenas, Lucretius, Virgil, Horace; all admirable in their several kinds, and perhaps unparalleled in story.

Cæsar, if considered in all lights, may justly challenge the first place in the registers we have of mankind, equal only to himself, and surpassing all others of his nation and his age, in the virtues and excellences of a statesman, a captain, an orator, an historian; besides all these, a poet, a philosopher, when his leisure allowed him; the greatest man of counsel and of action, of design and execution; the greatest nobleness of birth, of person and of countenance; the greatest humanity and clemency of nature, in the midst of the greatest provocations, occasions and examples of cruelty and revenge: 'tis true, he overturned the laws and constitutions of his country; yet 'twas after so many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; so as in what he did, he seems rather to have prevented [1] others, than to have done

[1] *i. e.* anticipated.

what himself designed; for though his ambition was vast, yet it seems to have been raised to those heights, rather by the insolence of his enemies than by his own temper; and that what was natural to him was only a desire of true glory, and to acquire it by good actions as well as great, by conquests of barbarous nations, extent of the Roman Empire; defending at first the liberties of the plebeians, opposing the faction that had begun in Sylla, and ended in Pompey: and in the whole course of his victories and successes, seeking all occasions of bounty to his friends, and clemency to his enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of the wisest and best of the Romans; learned without pretending, good without affectation, bountiful without design, a friend to all men in misfortune, a flatterer to no man in greatness or power, a lover of mankind, and beloved by them all; and by these virtues and dispositions, he passed safe and untouched through all the flames of civil dissensions that ravaged his country the greatest part of his life; and though he never entered into any public affairs, or particular factions of his State, yet he was favoured, honoured, and courted by them all, from Sylla to Augustus.

Mæcenas was the wisest counsellor, the truest

friend, both of his prince and his country, the best governor of Rome, the happiest and ablest negotiator, the best judge of learning and virtue, the choicest in his friends, and thereby the happiest in his conversation that has been known in story; and I think, to his conduct in civil, and Agrippa's in military affairs, may be truly ascribed all the fortunes and greatness of Augustus, so much celebrated in the world.

For Lucretius, Virgil and Horace, they deserve in my opinion the honour of the greatest philosophers, as well as the best poets of their nation or age. The two first, besides what looks like something more than human in their poetry, were very great naturalists, and admirable in their morals: and Horace, besides the sweetness and elegancy of his lyrics, appears in the rest of his writings so great a master of life, and of true sense in the conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean strain of his philosophy, to refuse being secretary to Augustus, when so great an emperor so much desired it. But all the different sects of philosophers seem to have agreed in the opinion of a wise man's abstaining from public affairs, which is thought the meaning of Pythagoras's precept, *to abstain from beans*, by which the affairs or public

resolutions in Athens were managed. They thought that sort of business too gross and material for the abstracted fineness of their speculations. They esteemed it too sordid and too artificial for the cleanness and simplicity of their manners and lives. They would have no part in the faults of a government; and they knew too well, that the nature and passions of men made them incapable of any that was perfect and good; and therefore thought all the service they could do to the State they live under, was to mend the lives and manners of particular men that composed it. But where factions were once entered and rooted in a State, they thought it madness for good men to meddle with public affairs; which made them turn their thoughts and entertainments to anything rather than this: and Heraclitus having upon the factions of the citizens quitted the government of his city, and amusing himself to play with the boys in the porch of the temple, asked those who wondered at him, *whether 'twas not better to play with such boys, than govern such men?* But above all, they esteemed public business the most contrary of all others to that tranquillity of mind, which they esteemed and taught to be the only true felicity of man.

For this reason Epicurus passed his life wholly in

his gardens; there he studied, there he exercised, there he taught his philosophy; and indeed, no other sort of abode seems to contribute so much, to both the tranquillity of mind, and indolence of body, which he made his chief ends. The sweetness of air, the pleasantness of smells, the verdure of plants, the cleanness and lightness of food, the exercises of working or walking; but above all, the exemption from cares and solicitude, seem equally to favour and improve both contemplation and health, the enjoyment of sense and imagination, and thereby the quiet and ease both of the body and mind.

Though Epicurus be said to have been the first that had a garden in Athens, whose citizens before him had theirs in their villages or farms without the city; yet the use of gardens seems to have been the most ancient and most general of any sorts of possession among mankind, and to have preceded those of corn or of cattle, as yielding the easier, the pleasanter, and more natural food. As it has been the inclination of kings, and the choice of philosophers, so it has been the common favourite of public and private men; a pleasure of the greatest, and the care of the meanest; and indeed an employment and a possession, for which no man is too high nor too low.

If we believe the Scripture, we must allow that God Almighty esteemed the life of a man in a garden the happiest He could give him, or else He would not have placed Adam in that of Eden; that it was a state of innocence and pleasure; and that the life of husbandry and cities came in after the Fall, with guilt and with labour.

Where Paradise was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of place is meant by it, may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a Persian word, since Xenophon and other Greek authors mention it, as what was much in use and delight among the kings of those Eastern countries. Strabo describing Jericho, says, *Ibi est palmetum, cui immixte sunt, etiam aliæ stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi est Regia & Balsami Paradisus.* He mentions another place to be *prope Libanum & Paradisum.* And Alexander is written to have seen Cyrus's tomb in a paradise, being a tower not very great, and covered with a shade of trees about it. So that a Paradise among them seems to have been a large space of ground, adorned and beautified with all sorts of trees, both of fruits and of forest, either found there before it was enclosed, or planted after; either cultivated

like gardens, for shades and for walks, with fountains or streams, and all sorts of plants usual in the climate, and pleasant to the eye, the smell or the taste ; or else employed, like our Parks, for enclosure and harbour of all sorts of wild beasts, as well as for the pleasure of riding and walking: and so they were of more or less extent, and of differing entertainment, according to the several humours of the princes that ordered and enclosed them.

Semiramis is the first we are told of in story, that brought them in use through her empire, and was so fond of them, as to make one wherever she built, and in all, or most of the provinces she subdued; which are said to have been from Babylon as far as India. The Assyrian kings continued this custom and care, or rather this pleasure, till one of them brought in the use of smaller and more regular gardens : for having married a wife he was fond of, out of one of the provinces, where such paradises or gardens were much in use, and the country lady not well bearing the air or enclosure of the palace in Babylon to which the Assyrian kings used to confine themselves; he made her gardens, not only within the palaces, but upon terraces raised with earth, over the arched roofs, and even upon the top of the highest tower, planted them

with all sorts of fruit-trees, as well as other plants and flowers, the most pleasant of that country; and thereby made at least the most airy gardens, as well as the most costly, that have been heard of in the world. This lady may probably have been native of the provinces of Chasimir, or of Damascus, which have in all times been the happiest regions for fruits of all the East, by the excellence of soil, the position of mountains, the frequency of streams, rather than the advantages of climate. And 'tis great pity we do not yet see the history of Chasimir, which Monsieur Bernier assured me he had translated out of Persian, and intended to publish; and of which he has given such a taste, in his excellent memoirs of the Mogul's country.

The next gardens we read of, are those of Solomon, planted with all sorts of fruit-trees, and watered with fountains; and though we have no more particular description of them, yet we may find, they were the places where he passed the times of his leisure and delight, where the houses as well as grounds were adorned with all that could be of pleasing and elegant, and were the retreats and entertainments of those among his wives that he loved the best; and 'tis not improbable, that the paradises mentioned by Strabo, were planted by this great and wisest king. But the idea of the garden

must be very great, if it answers at all to that of the gardener, who must have employed a great deal of his care and of his study, as well as of his leisure and thought in these entertainments, since he writ of all plants, from the cedar to the shrub.

What the gardens of the Hesperides were, we have little or no account, further than the mention of them, and thereby the testimony of their having been in use and request, in such remoteness of place, and antiquity of time.

The garden of Alcinous, described by Homer, seems wholly poetical, and made at the pleasure of the painter; like the rest of the romantic palace, in that little barren island of Phenicia or Corfu. Yet, as all the pieces of this transcendent genius are composed with excellent knowledge, as well as fancy; so they seldom fail of instruction as well as delight, to all that read him. The seat of this garden, joining to the gates of the palace, the compass of the enclosure being four acres, the tall trees of shade, as well as those of fruit, the two fountains, the one for the use of the garden, and the other of the palace, the continual succession of fruits throughout the whole year, are, for aught I know, the best rules or provisions that can go towards composing the best gardens; nor is it

unlikely, that Homer may have drawn this picture after the life of some he had seen in Ionia, the country and usual abode of this divine poet; and indeed, the region of the most refined pleasures and luxury, as well as invention and wit: for the humour and custom of gardens may have descended earlier into the lower Asia, from Damascus, Assyria, and other parts of the Eastern Empires, though they seem to have made late entrance, and smaller improvement in those of Greece and Rome; at least in no proportion to their other inventions or refinements of pleasure and luxury.

The long and flourishing peace of the two first Empires, gave earlier rise and growth to learning and civility, and all the consequences of them, in magnificence and elegancy of building and gardening, whereas Greece and Rome were almost perpetually engaged in quarrels and wars, either abroad or at home, and so were busy in actions that were done under the sun, rather than those under the shade. These were the entertainments of the softer nations, that fell under the virtue and prowess of the two last empires, which from those conquests brought home mighty increases both of riches and luxury, and so perhaps lost more than they got by the spoils of the East.

There may be another reason for the small advance of gardening in those excellent and more temperate climates, where the air and soil were so apt of themselves to produce the best sorts of fruits, without the necessity of cultivating them by labour and care; whereas the hotter climates, as well as the cold, are forced upon industry and skill, to produce or improve many fruits that grow of themselves in the more temperate regions. However it were, we have very little mention of gardens in old Greece, or in old Rome, for pleasure or with elegance, nor of much curiousness or care, to introduce the fruits of foreign climates, contenting themselves with those which were native of their own; and these were the vine, the olive, the fig, the pear, and the apple: Cato, as I remember, mentions no more; and their gardens were then but the necessary part of their farms, intended particularly for the cheap and easy food of their hinds or slaves, employed in their agriculture, and so were turned chiefly to all the common sorts of plants, herbs, or legumes (as the French call them) proper for common nourishment; and the name of *hortus* is taken to be from *ortus*, because it perpetually furnishes some rise or production of something new in the world.

Lucullus, after the Mithridatic war, first brought

cherries from Pontus into Italy, which so generally pleased, and were so easily propagated in all climates, that within the space of about an hundred years, having travelled westward with the Roman conquests, they grew common as far as the Rhine, and passed over into Britain. After the conquest of Africa, Greece, the Lesser Asia, and Syria, were brought into Italy all the sorts of their *Mala*, which we interpret apples, and might signify no more at first, but were afterwards applied to many other foreign fruits: the apricots coming from Epire, were called *Mala Epirotica;* peaches from Persia, *Mala Persica;* citrons of Media, *Medica;* pomegranates from Carthage, *Punica;* quinces *Cathonea*, from a small island in the Grecian seas; their best pears were brought from Alexandria, Numidia, Greece, and Numantia; as appears by their several appellations: their plums, from Armenia, Syria, but chiefly from Damascus. The kinds of these are reckoned in Nero's time, to have been near thirty, as well as of figs; and many of them were entertained at Rome with so great applause, and so general vogue, that the great captains, and even consular men, who first brought them over, took pride in giving them their own names (by which they run a great while in Rome) as in memory of some great

service or pleasure they had done their country; so that not only laws and battles, but several sorts of apples or *Mala*, and of pears, were called Manlian and Claudian, Pompeyan and Tiberian; and by several other such noble names.

Thus the fruits of Rome, in about an hundred years, came from countries as far as their conquests had reached; and like learning, architecture, painting, and statuary, made their great advances in Italy, about the Augustan age. What was of most request in their common gardens in Virgil's time, or at least in his youth, may be conjectured by the description of his old Corician's gardens in the fourth of the Georgics; which begins,

Namque sub Oebaliæ memini me turribus alti,[1]

Among flowers, the roses had the first place, especially a kind which bore twice a year; and none other sorts are here mentioned besides the narcissus, though the violet and the lily were very common, and the next in esteem; especially the *Breve Lilium*, which was the tuberose. The plants he mentions, are the *Apium*, which though commonly interpreted parsley, yet comprehends all sorts of smallage, whereof celery is one; *Cucumis*, which takes in all sorts of melons, as

[1] Temple misquotes: 'alti' should be 'arcis.'

well as cucumbers; *Olus*, which is a common word for all sorts of pot-herbs and legumes; *Verbenas*, which signifies all kinds of sweet or sacred plants that were used for adorning the altars; as bays, olive, rosemary, myrtle: the *Acanthus* seems to be what we call *Pericanthe;* but what their *Hederæ* were, that deserved place in a garden, I cannot guess, unless they had sorts of ivy unknown to us; nor what his *Vescum Papaver* was, since poppies with us are of no use in eating. The fruits mentioned, are only apples, pears, and plums; for olives, vines and figs, were grown to be fruits of their fields, rather than of their gardens. The shades were the elm, the pine, the lime-tree, and the *Platanus*, or plane-tree; whose leaf and shade, of all others, was the most in request; and having been brought out of Persia, was such an inclination among the Greeks and Romans, that they usually fed it with wine instead of water; they believed this tree loved that liquor, as well as those that used to drink under its shade; which was a great humour and custom, and perhaps gave rise to the other, by observing the growth of the tree, or largeness of the leaves, where much wine was spilt or left, and thrown upon the roots.

'Tis great pity the haste which Virgil seems here to have been in, should have hindered him from entering

farther into the account or instructions of gardening, which he said he could have given, and which he seems to have so much esteemed and loved, by that admirable picture of this old man's felicity, which he draws like so great a master, with one stroke of a pencil in those four words.

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midst of these small possessions, upon a few acres of barren ground, yet he equalled all the wealth and opulence of kings, in the ease, content, and freedom of his mind.

I am not satisfied with the common acceptation of the *Mala Aurea*, for oranges; nor do I find any passage in the authors of that age, which gives me the opinion, that these were otherwise known to the Romans than as fruits of the eastern climates. I should take their *Mala Aurea* to be rather some kind of apples, so called from the golden colour, as some are amongst us; for otherwise, the orange-tree is too noble in the beauty, taste and smell of its fruit; in the perfume and virtue of its flowers; in the perpetual verdure of its leaves, and in the excellent uses of all these, both for pleasure and health; not to have deserved any particular mention in the writings of an

age and nation, so refined and exquisite in all sorts of delicious luxury.

The charming description Virgil makes of the happy apple, must be intended either for the citron, or for some sort of orange growing in Media, which was either so proper to that country, as not to grow in any other (as a certain sort of fig was to Damascus) or to have lost its virtue by changing soils, or to have had its effect of curing some sort of poison that was usual in that country, but particular to it: I cannot forbear inserting those few lines out of the second of Virgil's Georgics, not having ever heard anybody else take notice of them.

Media fert tristes succos, tardumque saporem
Fœlicis mali; quo non præsentibus ullum,
Pocula si quando sævæ infecere novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena.
Ipsa ingens arbos, faciemque simillima lauro;
Et si non alios late jactaret odorem,
Laurus erat, folia haud ullis labentia ventis;
Flos apprima tenax: animas & olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, et senibus medicantur anhelis.

Media brings pois'nous herbs, and the flat taste
Of the bless'd apple, than which ne'er was found
A help more present, when curst step-dames mix
Their mortal cups to drive the venom out.

'Tis a large tree, and like a bays in hue;
And did it not such odours cast about,
'Twou'd be a bays; the leaves with no winds fall,
The flowers all excel: with these the Medes
Perfume their breaths, and cure old pursy men.

The tree being so like a bays or laurel, the slow or dull taste of the apple, the virtue of it against poison, seem to describe the citron. The perfume of the flowers and virtues of them, to cure ill scents of mouth or breath, or shortness of wind in pursy old men, seem to agree most with the orange: if *flos apprima tenax*, mean only the excellence of the flower above all others, it may be intended for the orange: if it signifies the flowers growing most upon the tops of the trees, it may be rather the citron; for I have been so curious as to bring up a citron from a kernel, which at twelve years of age began to flower; and I observed all the flowers to grow upon the top branches of the tree, but to be nothing so high or sweet-scented, as the orange. On the other side, I have always heard oranges to pass for a cordial juice, and a great preservative against the plague, which is a sort of venom; so that I know not to which of these we are to ascribe this lovely picture of the happy apple; but I am satisfied by it, that neither of them was at all

common, if at all known in Italy, at that time, or long after, though the fruit be now so frequent there in fields (at least in some parts) and make so common and delicious a part of gardening, even in these northern climates.

'Tis certain those noble fruits, the citron, the orange and the lemon, are the native product of those noble regions, Assyria, Media and Persia; and though they have been from thence transplanted and propagated in many parts of Europe, yet they have not arrived at such perfection in beauty, taste or virtue as in their native soil and climate. This made it generally observed among the Greeks and Romans, that the fruits of the East far excelled those of the West. And several writers had trifled away their time in deducing the reasons of this difference, from the more benign or powerful influences of the rising sun. But there is nothing more evident to any man that has the least knowledge of the globe, and gives himself leave to think, than the folly of such wise reasons, since the regions that are east to us, are west to some others; and the sun rises alike to all that lie in the same latitude, with the same heat and virtue upon its first approaches, as well as in its progress. Besides, if the eastern fruits were the better only for that position of climate, then

those of India should excel those of Persia; which we do not find by comparing the accounts of those countries: but Assyria, Media and Persia have been ever esteemed, and will be ever found the true regions of the best and noblest fruits in the world. The reason of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper soil, being there extended under the best climate for the production of all sorts of the best fruits; which seems to be from about twenty-five, to about thirty-five degrees of latitude. Now the regions under this climate in the present Persian empire (which comprehends most of the other two, called anciently Assyria and Media) are composed of many provinces full of great and fertile plains, bounded by high mountains, especially to the north; watered naturally with many rivers, and those by art and labour derived into many more and smaller streams, which all conspire to form a country in all circumstances, the most proper and agreeable for production of the best and noblest fruits. Whereas if we survey the regions of the western world, lying in the same latitude between twenty-five and thirty-five degrees, we shall find them extended either over the Mediterranean Sea, the Ocean, or the sandy barren countries of Africa; and that no part of the continent of Europe lies so

southward as thirty-five degrees. Which may serve to discover the true genuine reason, why the fruits of the East have been always observed and agreed to transcend those of the West.

In our north-west climates, our gardens are very different from what they were in Greece and Italy, and from what they are now in those regions in Spain, or the southern parts of France. And as most general customs in countries grow from the different nature of climates, soils or situations, and from the necessities or industry they impose, so do these.

In the warmer regions, fruits and flowers of the best sorts are so common, and of so easy production, that they grow in fields, and are not worth the cost of enclosing, or the care of more than ordinary cultivating. On the other side, the great pleasures of those climates are coolness of air, and whatever looks cool even to the eyes, and relieves them from the unpleasant sight of dusty streets, or parched fields. This makes the gardens of those countries to be chiefly valued by largeness of extent (which gives greater play and openness of air) by shades of trees, by frequency of living streams or fountains, by perspectives, by statues, and by pillars and obelisks of stone scattered up and down, which all conspire to make any place look fresh and cool. On the

contrary, the more northern climates, as they suffer little by heat, make little provision against it, and are careless of shade, and seldom curious in fountains. Good statues are in the reach of few men, and common ones are generally and justly despised or neglected. But no sorts of good fruits or flowers, being natives of the climates, or usual among us; (nor indeed the best sort of plants, herbs, salads for our kitchen-gardens themselves) and the best fruits not ripening without the advantage of walls or palisadoes, by reflection of the faint heat we receive from the sun, our gardens are made of smaller compass, seldom exceeding four, six, or eight acres; enclosed with walls, and laid out in a manner wholly for advantage of fruits, flowers, and the product of kitchen-gardens in all sorts of herbs, salads, plants and legumes, for the common use of tables.

These are usually the gardens of England and Holland, as the first sort are those of Italy, and were so of old. In the more temperate parts of France, and in Brabant (where I take gardening to be at its greatest height) they are composed of both sorts, the extent more spacious than ours; part laid out for flowers, others for fruits; some standards, some against walls or palisades, some for forest-trees and

groves for shade, some parts wild, some exact; and fountains much in request among them.

But after so much ramble into ancient times, and remote places, to return home and consider the present way and humour of our gardening in England; which seem to have grown into such vogue, and to have been so mightily improved in three or four and twenty years of His Majesty's reign, that perhaps few countries are before us, either in the elegance of our gardens, or in the number of our plants; and I believe none equals us in the variety of fruits, which may be justly called good; and from the earliest cherry and strawberry, to the last apples and pears, may furnish every day of the circling year. For the taste and perfection of what we esteem the best, I may truly say, that the French, who have eaten my peaches and grapes at Shene, in no very ill year, have generally concluded, that the last are as good as any they have eaten in France, on this side Fountainbleau; and the first as good as any they have eat in Gascony; I mean those which come from the stone, and are properly called peaches, not those which are hard, and are termed pavies; for these cannot grow in too warm a climate, nor ever be good in a cold; and are better at Madrid, than in Gascony itself: Italians have agreed,

my white figs to be as good as any of that sort in Italy, which is the earlier kind of white fig there; for in the latter kind, and the blue, we cannot come near the warm climates, no more than in the Frontignac or Muscat grape.

My orange-trees are as large as any I saw when I was young in France, except those of Fountainbleau, or what I have seen since in the Low Countries, except some very old ones of the Prince of Orange's; as laden with flowers as any can well be, as full of fruit as I suffer or desire them, and as well tasted as are commonly brought over, except the best sorts of Sevil and Portugal. And thus much I could not but say, in defence of our climate, which is so much and so generally decried abroad, by those who never saw it; or, if they have been here, have yet perhaps seen no more of it, than what belongs to inns, or to taverns and ordinaries; who accuse our country for their own defaults, and speak ill, not only of our gardens and houses, but of our humours, our breeding, our customs and manners of life, by what they have observed of the meaner and baser sort of mankind; and of company among us, because they wanted themselves, perhaps, either fortune or birth, either quality or merit, to introduce them among the good.

I must needs add one thing more in favour of our climate, which I heard the king say, and I thought new and right, and truly like a king of England, that loved and esteemed his own country: 'twas in reply to some of the company that were reviling our climate, and extolling those of Italy and Spain, or at least of France: he said, he thought that was the best climate, where he could be abroad in the air with pleasure, or at least without trouble and inconvenience, the most days of the year, and the most hours of the day; and this he thought he could be in England, more than in any country he knew of in Europe. And I believe it is true, not only of the hot and cold, but even among our neighbours in France, and the Low Countries themselves; where the heats or the colds, and changes of seasons, are less treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our climate wants no heat to produce excellent fruits; and the default of it, is only the short season of our heats or summers, by which many of the latter are left behind, and imperfect with us. But all such as are ripe before the end of August, are, for ought I know, as good with us as anywhere else. This makes me esteem the true region of gardens in England, to be the compass of ten miles about London; where the accidental warmth of air, from

the fires and steams of so vast a town, makes fruits, as well as corn, a great deal forwarder than in Hampshire or Wiltshire, though more southward by a full degree.

There are, besides the temper of our climate, two things particular to us, that contribute much to the beauty and elegance of our gardens, which are the gravel of our walks, and the fineness and almost perpetual greenness of our turf. The first is not known anywhere else, which leaves all their dry walks in other countries, very unpleasant and uneasy. The other cannot be found in France or in Holland as we have it, the soil not admitting that fineness of blade in Holland, nor the sun that greenness in France, during most of the summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the finest of our soils.

Whoever begins a garden, ought in the first place, and above all, to consider the soil, upon which the taste of not only his fruits, but his legumes, and even herbs and salads, will wholly depend; and the default of soil is without remedy: for although all borders of fruit may be made with what earth you please (if you will be at the charge) yet it must be renewed in two or three years, or it runs into the nature of the ground where 'tis brought. Old trees spread their roots further than anybody's care extends, or the forms of

the garden will allow; and after all, where the soil about you is ill, the air is so too in a degree, and has influence upon the taste of fruit. What Horace says of the productions of kitchen-gardens under the name of *Caulis*, is true of all the best sorts of fruits, and may determine the choice of soil for all gardens.

> Caule suburbano qui siccus crevit in agris
> Dulcior, irriguis nihil est elutius hortis.
>
> Plants from dry fields those of the town excel,
> Nothing more tasteless is than watered grounds.

Any man had better throw away his care and his money upon anything else, than upon a garden in wet or moist ground. Peaches and grapes will have no taste but upon a sand or gravel; but the richer these are, the better; and neither salads, peas or beans, have at all the taste upon a clay or rich earth, as they have upon either of the others, though the size and colour of fruits and plants may, perhaps, be more upon the worse soils.

Next to your choice of soil, is to suit your plants to your ground, since of this every one is not master; though perhaps Varro's judgment upon this case is the wisest and the best; for to one that asked him, what he should do if his father or ancestors had left him a seat in an ill air, or upon an ill soil? He

answered, Why sell it, and buy another in good. But what if I cannot get half the worth? Why then take a quarter; but however sell it for anything, rather than live upon it.

Of all sorts of soil, the best is that upon a sandy gravel, or a rosiny sand; whoever lies upon either of these, may run boldly into all the best sort of peaches and grapes, how shallow soever the turf be upon them; and whatever other tree will thrive in these soils the fruit shall be of much finer taste than any other: a richer soil will do well enough for apricots, plums, pears or figs; but still the more of the sand in your earth the better, and the worse the more of the clay, which is proper for oaks, and no other tree that I know of.

Fruits should be suited to the climate among us, as well as the soil; for there are degrees of one and the other in England, where 'tis to little purpose to plant any of the best fruits; as peaches or grapes, hardly, I doubt, beyond Northamptonshire, at the furthest northwards: and I thought it very prudent in a gentleman of my friends in Staffordshire, who is a great lover of his garden, to pretend no higher, though his soil be good enough, than to the perfection of plums; and in these (by bestowing south walls upon them) he has very well succeeded, which he could

never have done in attempts upon peaches and grapes; and a good plum is certainly better than an ill peach.

When I was at Cosevelt with that Bishop of Munster, that made so much noise in his time, I observed no other trees but cherries in a great garden he had made. He told me the reason was, because he found no other fruit would ripen well in that climate, or upon that soil; and therefore instead of being curious in others, he had only been so in the sorts of that, whereof he had so many, as never to be without them from May to the end of September.

As to the size of a garden, which will perhaps, in time, grow extravagant among us, I think from five or four, to seven or eight acres, is as much as any gentleman need design, and will furnish as much of all that is expected from it, as any nobleman will have occasion to use in his family.

In every garden four things are necessary to be provided for, flowers, fruit, shade, and water; and whoever lays out a garden without all these, must not pretend it in any perfection: it ought to lie to the best parts of the house, or to those of the master's commonest use, so as to be but like one of the rooms out of which you step into another. The part of your garden next your house (besides the walks that go

round it) should be a parterre for flowers, or grass-plots bordered with flowers; or if, according to the newest mode, it be cast all into grass-plots and gravel-walks, the dryness of these should be relieved with fountains, and the plainness of those with statues; otherwise, if large, they have an ill effect upon the eye. However, the part next the house should be open, and no other fruit but upon the walls. If this take up one half of the garden, the other should be fruit-trees, unless some grove for shade lie in the middle. If it take up a third part only, then the next third may be dwarf-trees, and the last standard-fruit; or else the second part fruit-trees, and the third all sorts of winter-greens, which provide for all seasons of the year.

I will not enter upon any account of flowers, having only pleased myself with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled myself with the care, which is more the ladies' part than the men's; but the success is wholly in the gardener. For fruits, the best we have in England, or I believe can ever hope for, are of peaches, the white and red Maudlin, the Minion, the Chevreuse, the Ramboullet, the Musk, the Admirable, which is late; all the rest are either varified by names, or not to be named with these, nor worth troubling a garden, in my opinion. Of the pavies or hard peaches, I know none

good here but the Newington, nor will that easily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward peaches are to be esteemed only because they are early, but should find room in a good garden, at least the white and brown Nutmeg, the Persian and the violet Musk. The only good nectarines are the Murry and the French; of these there are two sorts, one very sound, and the other something long, but the round is the best: of the Murry there are several sorts, but being all hard, they are seldom well ripened with us.

Of grapes, the best are the Chasselas, which is the better sort of our white muscadine (as the name was about Sheen;) 'tis called the pearl-grape, and ripens well enough in common years, but not so well as the common black, or currand, which is something a worse grape. The parsley is good, and proper enough to our climate; but all white Frontignacs are difficult, and seldom ripe unless in extraordinary summers.

I have had the honour of bringing over four sorts into England; the Arboyse from the Franche Comte, which is a small white grape, or rather runs into some small and some great upon the same bunch; it agrees well with our climate, but is very choice in soil, and must have a sharp gravel; it is the most delicious of all grapes that are not muscat. The Burgundy, which

is a grizelin or pale red, and of all others is surest to ripen in our climate; so that I have never known them to fail one summer these fifteen years, when all others have; and have had it very good upon an east wall. A black muscat, which is called the Dowager, and ripens as well as the common white grape. And the fourth is the Grizelin Frontignac, being of that colour, and the highest of that taste, and the noblest of all grapes I ever eat in England; but requires the hottest wall and the sharpest gravel; and must be favoured by the summer too, to be very good. All these are, I suppose, by this time pretty common among some gardeners in my neighbourhood, as well as several persons of quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of figs there are among us the white, the blue, and the tawny: the last is very small, bears ill, and I think but a bawble. Of the blue there are two or three sorts, but little different, one something longer than the other; but that kind which swells most, is ever the best. Of the white I know but two sorts, and both excellent; one ripe in the beginning of July, the other in the end of September, and is yellower than the first; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raise, though an excellent fruit.

Of apricots, the best are the common old sort, and the largest Masculin; of which this last is much improved by budding upon a peach stock. I esteem none of this fruit but the Brussel's apricot, which grows a standard, and is one of the best fruits we have; and which I first brought over among us.

The number of good pears, especially summer, is very great, but the best are the Blanquet, Robin, Rousselet, Rosati, Sans, Pepin, Jargonelle. Of the autumn, the Buree, the Vertelongue, and the Bergamot. Of the winter, the Vergoluz, Chasseray, St. Michael, St. Germain, and Ambret: I esteem the Bon-Cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of plums, the best are St. Julian, St. Catharine, white and blue Pedrigon, Queen-mother, Sheen-plum, and Cheston.

Beyond the sorts I have named, none I think need trouble himself, but multiply these, rather than make room for more kinds; and I am content to leave this register, having been so often desired it by my friends upon their designs of gardening.

I need say nothing of apples, being so well known among us; but the best of our climate, and I believe of all others, is the Golden Pippin; and for all sorts of uses: the next is the Kentish pippin; but these I

think are as far from their perfection with us as grapes, and yield to those of Normandy, as these to those in Anjou, and even these to those in Gascony. In other fruits the defect of sun is in a great measure supplied by the advantage of walls.

The next care to that of suiting trees with the soil, is that of suiting fruits to the position of walls. Grapes, peaches, and winter-pears, to be good, must be planted upon full south, or south-east; figs are best upon south-east, but will do well upon east and south-west: the west are proper for cherries, plums or apricots; but all of them are improved by a south wall both as to early and taste, north, north-west, or north-east, deserve nothing but greens; these should be divided by woodbines or jessamines between every green, and the other walls, by a vine between every fruit-tree; the best sorts upon the south walls, the common white and black upon east and west, because the other trees being many of them (especially peaches) were transitory; some apt to die with hard winters, others to be cut down and make room for new fruits: without this method the walls are left for several years unfurnished; whereas the vines on each side cover the void space in one summer, and when the other trees

are grown, make only a pillar between them of two or three feet broad.

Whoever would have the best fruits in the most perfection our climate will allow, should not take care of giving them as much sun, but also as much air as he can; no tree, unless dwarf, should be suffered to grow with forty feet of your best walls, but the farther they lie open, is still the better. Of all others, this care is most necessary in vines, which are observed abroad to make the best wines, where they lie upon sides of hills, and so most exposed to the air and the wind. The way of pruning them too, is best learned from the vineyards, where you see nothing in winter, but what looks like a dead stump; and upon our walls they should be left but like a ragged staff, not above two or three eyes at most upon the bearing branches; and the lower the vine and fewer the branches, the grapes will be still the better.

The best figure of a garden is either a square or an oblong, and either upon a flat or a descent; they have all their beauties, but the best I esteem an oblong upon a descent. The beauty, the air, the view makes amends for the expense, which is very great in finishing and supporting the terrace-walks, in levelling the

parterres, and in the stone-stairs that are necessary from one to the other.

The perfectest figure of a garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad, was that of Moor Park in Hertfordshire, when I knew it about thirty years ago. It was made by the Countess of Bedford, esteemed among the greatest wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor Donne; and with very great care, excellent contrivance, and much cost; but greater sums may be thrown away without effect or honour, if there want sense in proportion to money, or if Nature be not followed; which I take to be the great rule in this, and perhaps in everything else, as far as the conduct not only of our lives, but our governments. And whether the greatest of mortal men should attempt the forcing of Nature, may best be judged, by observing how seldom God Almighty does it himself, by so few, true and undisputed miracles, as we see or hear in the world. For my own part, I know not three wiser precepts for the conduct either of princes or private men, than—

> —— Servare modum, finempue tueri,
> Naturamque sequi.

Because I take the garden I have named to have been in all kinds the most beautiful and perfect, at least

in the figure and disposition, that I have ever seen, I will describe it for a model to those that meet with such a situation, and are above the regards of common expense. It lies on the side of a hill, (upon which the house stands) but not very steep. The length of the house, where the best rooms, and of most use or pleasure are, lies upon the breadth of the garden, the great parlours open into the middle of a terrace gravel-walk that lies even with it, and which may be, as I remember, about three hundred paces long, and broad proportion; the border set with standard laurels, and at large distances, which have the beauty of orange-trees out of flower and fruit: from this walk are three descents by many stone steps, in the middle and at each end, into a very large parterre. This is divided into quarters by gravel-walks, and adorned with two fountains and eight statues in the several quarters; at the end of the terrace-walk are two summer-houses, and the sides of the parterre are ranged with two large cloisters, open to the garden, upon arches of stone, and ending with two other summer-houses even with the cloisters, which are paved with stone, and designed for walks of shade, there being none other in the whole parterre. Over these two cloisters are two terraces covered with lead, and fenced with balusters; and the

passage into these airy walks, is out of the two summer-houses at the end of the first terrace-walk. The cloister facing the south is covered with vines, and would have been proper for an orange-house, and the other for myrtles, or other more common greens; and had, I doubt not, been cast for that purpose, if this piece of gardening had been then in as much vogue as it is now.

From the middle of this parterre is a descent by many steps flying on each side of a grotto that lies between them (covered with lead, and flat) into the lower garden, which is all fruit-trees ranged about the several quarters of a wilderness which is very shady; the walks here are all green, the grotto embellished with figures of shell-rockwork, fountains and water-works. If the hill had not ended with the lower garden, and the wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the park, they might have added a third quarter of all greens; but this want is supplied by a garden on the other side of the house, which is all of that sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough rockwork and fountains.

This was Moor Park, when I was acquainted with it, and the sweetest place, I think, that I have seen in my life, either before or since, at home or abroad;

what it is now I can give little account, having passed through several hands that have made great changes in gardens as well as houses; but the remembrance of what it was, is too pleasant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have mistaken the figure of it, which may serve for a pattern to the best gardens of our manners, and that are most proper for our country and climate.

What I have said of the best forms of gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular; for there may be other forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more beauty than any of the others; but they must owe it to some extraordinary dispositions of nature in the seat, or some great race of fancy or judgment in the contrivance, which may produce many disagreeing parts into some figure, which shall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the Chinese; a people, whose way of thinking seems to lie as wide of ours in Europe, as their country does. Among us, the beauty of building and planting is placed chiefly in some certain proportions, symmetries, or uniformities; our walks and our trees ranged so, as to answer one another, and at exact distances. The

Chinese scorn this way of planting, and say a boy that can tell an hundred, may plant walks of trees in straight lines, and over against one another, and to what length and extent he pleases. But their greatest reach of imagination, is employed in contriving figures, where the beauty shall be great, and strike the eye, but without any order or disposition of parts, that shall be commonly or easily observed. And though we have hardly any notion of this sort of beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it; and where they find it hit their eye at first sight, they say the Sharawadgi is fine or is admirable, or any such expression of esteem. And whoever observes the work upon the best Indian gowns, or the painting upon their best screens or purcellans, will find their beauty is all of this kind, (that is) without order. But I should hardly advise any of these attempts in the figure of gardens among us; they are adventures of too hard achievement for any common hands; and though there may be more honour if they succeed well, yet there is more dishonour if they fail, and 'tis twenty to one they will; whereas in regular figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable faults.

The picture I have met with in some relations of a garden made by a Dutch governor of their

Colony, upon the Cape de Buen Esperace, is admirable, and described to be an oblong figure, of very large extent, and divided into four quarters by long and cross walks, ranged with all sorts of orange-trees, lemons, limes and citrons; each of these four quarters is planted with the trees, fruits, flowers and plants that are native and proper to each of the four parts of the world; so as in this one enclosure are to be found the several gardens of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. There could not be, in my mind, a greater thought of a gardener, nor a nobler idea of a garden, not better suited or chosen for the climate, which is about thirty degrees, and may pass for the Hesperides of our age, whatever or wherever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the islands or continent upon the south-west of Africa, but what their forms or their fruits were, none, that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their golden apples were for taste, or only for sight, as those of Montezuma were in Mexico, who had large trees, with stocks, branches, leaves and fruits, all admirably composed and wrought of gold; but this was only stupendous in cost and art, and answers not at all, in my opinion, the delicious varieties of Nature in other gardens.

What I have said of gardening, is perhaps enough for any gentleman to know, so as to make no great faults, nor be much imposed upon in the designs of that kind, which I think ought to be applauded, and encouraged in all countries. That and building being a sort of creation, that raise beautiful fabricks and figures out of nothing, that make the convenience and pleasure of all private habitations, that employ many hands, and circulate much money among the poorer sort and artisans, that are a public service to one's country, by the example as well as effect, which adorn the scene, improve the earth, and even the air itself in some degree. The rest that belongs to this subject, must be a gardener's part; upon whose skill, diligence, and care, the beauty of the grounds, and excellence of the fruits will much depend. Though if the soil and sorts be well chosen, well suited, and disposed to the walls, the ignorance or carelessness of the servants can hardly leave the master disappointed.

I will not enter further upon his trade, than by three short directions or advices: first, in all plantations, either for his master or himself, to draw his trees out of some nursery that is upon a leaner and lighter soil than his own where he removes them; without this care they will not thrive in several years, perhaps

never; and must make way for new, which should be avoided all that can be; for life is too short and uncertain, to be renewing often your plantations. The walls of your garden without their furniture, look as ill as those of your house; so that you cannot dig up your garden too often, nor too seldom cut them down.

The second is, in all trees you raise, to have some regard to the stock, as well as the graft or bud; for the first will have a share in giving taste and season to the fruits it produces, how little soever it is usually observed by our gardeners. I have found grafts of the same tree upon a Bon-cretien stock, bring Chasseray pears, that lasted till March, but with a rind green and rough: and others, upon a Metre-John stock, with a smooth and yellow skin, which were rotten in November. I am apt to think, all the difference between the St. Michael and the Ambrette pear (which has puzzled our gardeners) is only what comes from this variety of the stocks; and by this, perhaps, as well as by raising from stones and kernels, most of the new fruits are produced every age. So the grafting a crab upon a white-thorn brings the Lazarolli, a fruit esteemed at Rome, though I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the Cidrato (or Hermaphrodite) came from budding a citron upon

an orange. The best peaches are raised by buds of the best fruits upon stocks, growing from stones of the best peaches; and so the best apples and pears, from the best kinds grafted upon stocks, from kernels also of the best sorts, with respect to the season, as well as beauty and taste. And I believe so many excellent winter pears, as have come into France since forty years, may have been found out by grafting summer pears of the finest taste and most water, upon winter stocks.

The third advice is, to take the greatest care and pains in preserving your trees from the worst disease, to which those of the best fruits are subject in the best soils, and upon the best walls. 'Tis what has not been (that I know of) taken notice of with us, till I was forced to observe it by the experience of my gardens, though I have since met with it in books both ancient and modern. I found my vines, peaches, apricots and plums upon my best south walls, and sometimes upon my west, apt for several years to a soot, or smuttiness upon their leaves first, and then upon their fruits, which were good for nothing the years they were so affected. My orange-trees were likewise subject to it, and never prospered while they were so; and I have known some collections quite

destroyed by it. But I cannot say, that I ever found either my figs or pears infected with it, nor any trees upon my east walls, though I do not well conjecture at the reason. The rest were so spoiled with it, that I complained to several of the oldest and best gardeners of England, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the same misfortune, and esteemed it some blight of the spring. I observed after some years, that the diseased trees had very frequent upon their stocks and branches a small insect of a dark brown colour, figured like a shield, and about the size of a large wheat-corn: they stuck close to the bark, and in many places covered it, especially about the joints: in winter they are dry, and thin-shelled; but in spring they begin to grow soft, and to fill with moisture, and to throw a spawn like a black dust upon the stocks, as well as the leaves and fruits.

I met afterwards with the mention of this disease, as known among orange-trees, in a book written upon that subject in Holland, and since in Pausanias, as a thing so much taken notice of in Greece, that the author describes a certain sort of earth which cures *Pediculos Vitis*, or, the lice of the vine. This is of all others the most pestilent disease of the best fruit-trees, and upon the very best soils of gravel and sand

(especially where they are too hungry :) And is so contagious, that it is propagated to new plants raised from old trees that are infected, and spreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine, that it lies in the root, and that the best cure were by application there. But I have tried all soil without effect, and can prescribe no other remedy, than to prune your trees as close as you can, especially the tainted wood, then to wash them very clean with a wet brush, so as not to leave one shell upon them that you can discern : And upon your oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every leaf, as well as brushing clean the stocks and branches. Without these cares and diligences, you had better root up any trees that are infected, renew all the mold in your borders or boxes, and plant new sound trees, rather than suffer the disappointments and vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know something of this trade, since I have so long allowed myself to be good for nothing else, which few men will do, or enjoy their gardens, without often looking abroad to see how other matters play, what motions in the state, and what invitations they may hope for into other scenes.

For my own part, as the country life, and this part of it more particularly, were the inclination of my youth itself, so they are the pleasure of my age; and I can truly say, that among many great employments that have fallen to my share, I have never asked or sought for any one of them, but often endeavoured to escape from them, into the ease and freedom of a private scene, where a man may go his own way and his own pace, in the common paths or circles of life.

Inter cuncta leges et percunctabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere leniter ævum,
Quid curas minuat, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
Quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
An secretum iter, et fallentis semita vitæ.

But above all, the learned read and ask
By what means you may gently pass your age,
What lessens care, what makes thee thine own friend,
What truly calms the mind; honour, or wealth,
Or else a private path of stealing life?

These are questions that a man ought at least to ask himself, whether he asks others or no, and to choose his course of life rather by his own humour and temper, than by common accidents, or advice of friends; at least if the Spanish proverb be true, That *a fool knows more in his own house, than a wise man in another's.*

The measure of choosing well, is, whether a man likes what he has chosen, which I thank God has befallen me; and though among the follies of my life, building and planting have not been the least, and have cost me more than I have the confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompensed by the sweetness and satisfaction of this retreat, where, since my resolution taken of never entering again into any publick employments, I have passed five years without ever going once to town, though I am almost in sight of it, and have a house there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any sort of affectation, as some have thought it, but a mere want of desire or humour to make so small a remove; for when I am in this corner I can truly say with Horace,

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid sentire putas, quid credis amice precare?
Sit mihi quod nunc est etiam minus, ut mihi vivam,
Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volent Dii.
Sit bona librorum, et provisæ frugis in annum
Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem spe pendulus horæ,
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem qui donat et aufert.

Me when the cold Digentian stream revives,
What does my friend believe I think or ask?
Let me yet less possess, so I may live,
Whate'er of life remains, unto myself.

May I have books enough, and one year's store,
Not to depend upon each doubtful hour;
This is enough of mighty Jove to pray,
Who, as he pleases, gives and takes away.

That which makes the cares of gardening more necessary, or at least more excusable, is, that all men eat fruit that can get it; so as the choice is, only whether one will eat good or ill; and between these the difference is not greater in point of taste and delicacy, than it is of health: for the first, I will only say, that whoever has used to eat good, will do very great penance when he comes to ill: and for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe fruit is extremely unwholesome, and causes so many untimely deaths, or so much sickness about autumn, in all great cities where 'tis greedily sold as well as eaten; so no part of diet, in any season, is so healthful, so natural, and so agreeable to the stomach, as good and well-ripened fruits; for this I make the measure of their being good; and let the kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our climate, they are better never planted, or never eaten. I can say it for myself at least, and all my friends, that the season of summer fruits is ever the season of health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of June

to the end of September, and for all sicknesses of the stomach (from which most others are judged to proceed) I do not think any that are like me, the most subject to them, shall complain, whenever they eat thirty or forty cherries before meals, or the like proportion of strawberries, white figs, soft peaches, or grapes perfectly ripe. But these after Michaelmas I do not think wholesome with us, unless attended by some fit of hot and dry weather, more than is usual after that season; when the frosts or the rain have taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the autumn and winter pears are to be reckoned in season, besides apples, which, with cherries, are of all others the most innocent food, and perhaps the best physick. Now, whoever will be sure to eat good fruit, must do it out of a garden of his own; for besides the choice so necessary in the sorts, the soil, and so many other circumstances that go to compose a good garden, and produce good fruits, there is something very nice in gathering them, and choosing the best, even from the same tree. The best sorts of all among us, which I esteem the white figs and the soft peaches, will not carry without suffering. The best fruit that is bought, has no more of the master's care, than how to raise the greatest gains; his business is to have as much

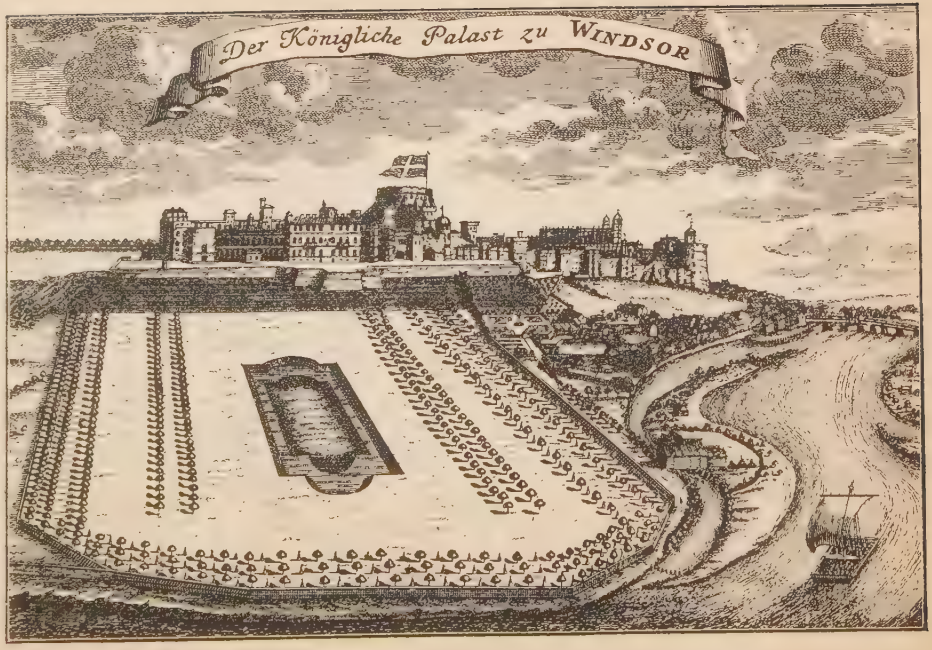
fruit as he can upon as few trees; whereas the way to have it excellent, is to have but little upon many trees. So that for all things out of a garden, either of salads or fruits, a poor man will eat better, that has one of his own, than a rich man that has none. And this is all I think of, necessary and useful to be known upon this subject.

THE GARDEN

BY

ABRAHAM COWLEY

(1618–1667)



THE GARDENS OF WINDSOR CASTLE.

THE GARDEN

To J. Evelyn, Esq.

I NEVER had any other desire so strong, and so like to covetousness, as that one which I have had always, that I might be master at last of a small house and large garden, with very moderate conveniences joined to them, and there dedicate the remainder of my life only to the culture of them and study of nature,

And there (with no design beyond my wall) whole and entire to lie,
In no unactive ease, and no unglorious poverty.

Or, as Virgil has said, shorter and better for me, that I might there

Studiis florere ignobilis[1] otî:

(though I could wish that he had rather said, "nobilis otii," when he spoke of his own). But several accidents of my ill fortune have disappointed me hitherto, and do still, of that felicity; for though I have made the first and hardest step to it, by abandoning all ambitions and hopes in this world, and by retiring from the noise

[1] *Virg. G.*, iv. 564.

of all business and almost company, yet I stick still in the inn of a hired house and garden, among weeds and rubbish; and without that pleasantest work of human industry, the improvement of something which we call (not very properly, but yet we call) our own. I am gone out from Sodom, but I am not yet arrived at my little Zoar. *O let me escape thither* (*is it not a little one?*) *and my soul shall live.* I do not look back yet; but I have been forced to stop, and make too many halts. You may wonder, sir (for this seems a little too extravagant and pindarical for prose), what I mean by all this preface; it is to let you know, that though I have missed, like a chemist, my great end, yet I account my affections and endeavours well rewarded by something that I have met with by the bye; which is, that they have procured to me some part in your kindness and esteem; and thereby the honour of having my name so advantageously recommended to posterity, by the epistle you are pleased to prefix to the most useful book that has been written in that kind,[1] and which is to last as long as months and years.

[1] —*the most useful book that has been written in that kind*] Mr. Evelyn's *Kalendarium Hortense;* dedicated to Mr. Cowley.—The title explains the propriety of the compliment, that this book was to last *as long as months and years.*

Among many other arts and excellences, which you enjoy, I am glad to find this favourite of mine the most predominant; that you choose this for your wife, though you have hundreds of other arts for your concubines; though you know them, and beget sons upon them all (to which you are rich enough to allow great legacies), yet the issue of this seems to be designed by you to the main of the estate; you have taken most pleasure in it, and bestowed most charges upon its education: and I doubt not to see that book, which you are pleased to promise to the world, and of which you have given us a large earnest in your calendar, as accomplished, as any thing can be expected from an extraordinary wit, and no ordinary expenses, and a long experience. I know nobody that possesses more private happiness than you do in your garden; and yet no man, who makes his happiness more public, by a free communication of the art and knowledge of it to others. All that I myself am able yet to do, is only to recommend to mankind the search of that felicity, which you instruct them how to find and to enjoy.

I

Happy art thou, whom God does bless
With the full choice of thine own happiness ;
And happier yet, because thou 'rt blest
With prudence, how to choose the best ;
In books and gardens thou hast plac'd aright
(Things, which thou well dost understand ;
And both dost make with thy laborious hand)
Thy noble, innocent delight :
And in thy virtuous wife, where thou again dost meet
Both pleasures more refin'd and sweet ;
The fairest garden in her looks,
And in her mind the wisest books.
Oh, who would change these soft, yet solid joys,
For empty shows, and senseless noise !
And all which rank ambition breeds,
Which seem such beauteous flowers, and are such
poisonous weeds ?

II

When God did man to His own likeness make,
As much as clay, though of the purest kind,
By the great potter's art refin'd,
Could the divine impression take,

He thought it fit to place him, where
A kind of heaven too did appear,
As far as earth could such a likeness bear :
That man no happiness might want,
Which earth to her first master could afford,
He did a garden for him plant
By the quick hand of His omnipotent word.
As the chief help and joy of human life,
He gave him the first gift ; first, ev'n before a wife.

III

For God, the universal architect,
'T had been as easy to erect
A Louvre or Escurial, or a tower
That might with heaven communication hold,
As Babel vainly thought to do of old :
He wanted not the skill or power ;
In the world's fabric those were shown,
And the materials were all his own.
But well he knew, what place would best agree
With innocence, and with felicity :
And we elsewhere still seek for them in vain ;
If any part of either yet remain,
If any part of either we expect,

This may our judgment in the search direct;
God the first garden made, and the first city, Cain.

IV

O blessed shades! O gentle cool retreat
From all th' immoderate heat,
In which the frantic world does burn and sweat!
This does the lion-star, ambition's rage;
This avarice, the dog-star's thirst assuage;
Everywhere else their fatal power we see,
They make and rule man's wretched destiny:
They neither set, nor disappear,
But tyrannize o'er all the year;
Whilst we ne'er feel their flame or influence here.
The birds that dance from bough to bough,
And sing above in every tree,
Are not from fears and cares more free,
Than we, who lie, or sit or walk below,
And should by right be singers too.
What princes choir of music can excel
That, which within this shade does dwell?
To which we nothing pay or give;
They, like all other poets live,

Without reward, or thanks for their obliging pains;
'Tis well, if they become not prey:
The whistling winds add their less artful strains,
And a grave base the murmuring fountains play;
Nature does all this harmony bestow,
But to our plants, art's music too,
The pipe, theorbo, and guitar we owe;
The lute itself, which once was green and mute,
When Orpheus strook th' inspired lute,
The trees danc'd round, and understood
By sympathy the voice of wood.

v

These are the spells, that to kind sleep invite,
And nothing does within resistance make,
Which yet we moderately take;
Who would not choose to be awake,
While he's encompass'd round with such delight,
To th' ear, the nose, the touch, the taste and sight?
When Venus would her dear Ascanius keep [1]
A prisoner in the downy bands of sleep,
She od'rous herbs and flowers beneath him spread,
As the most soft and sweetest bed;
Not her own lap would more have charm'd his head.

[1] *Virg. Æn.*, i. 695.

Who, that has reason, and his smell,
Would not among roses and jasmin dwell,
Rather than all his spirits choke
With exhalations of dirt and smoke?
And all th' uncleanness, which does drown
In pestilential clouds a populous town?
The earth itself breathes better perfumes here,
Than all the female men or women, there,
Not without cause, about them bear.

VI

When Epicurus to the world had taught,
That pleasure was the chiefest good,
(And was, perhaps, i' th' right,[1] if rightly understood)
His life he to his doctrine brought,
And in a garden's shade that sovereign pleasure sought:
Whoever a true epicure would be,
May there find cheap and virtuous luxury.
Vitellius his table, which did hold
As many creatures, as the ark of old;
That fiscal table, to which every day
All countries did a constant tribute pay,

[1] *was, perhaps, i' th' right*] The author had seen Gassendi's fine work on this subject.

Could nothing more delicious afford,
Than nature's liberality,
Help'd with a little art and industry,
Allows the meanest gard'ner's board.
The wanton taste no fish or fowl can choose,
For which the grape or melon she would lose;
Though all th' inhabitants of sea and air
Be listed in the glutton's bill of fare,
Yet still the fruits of earth we see
Plac'd the third story [1] high in all her luxury.

VII

But with no sense the garden does comply,
None courts, or flatters, as it does the eye: [2]
When the great Hebrew king did almost strain
The wond'rous treasures of his wealth and brain,
His royal southern guest to entertain;
Though she on silver floors did tread,
With bright Assyrian carpets on them spread,
To hide the metal's poverty.

[1] *Plac'd the third story*] *i. e.* in the *desert*, which stands as the *third story* in the fabric of modern luxury.

[2] *But with no sense the garden does comply,*
None courts, or flatters, as it does the eye] A little obscurely expressed. The meaning is—The garden gratifies no sense, it courts and flatters none, so much as it does the eye.

Though she look'd up to roofs of gold,
And nought around her could behold,
But silk and rich embroidery,
And Babylonian tapestry,
And wealthy Hiram's princely dye :
Though Ophir's starry stones met everywhere her eye ;
Though she herself, and her gay host were drest
With all the shining glories of the East ;
When lavish art her costly work had done,
The honour and the prize of bravery
Was by the garden from the palace won ;
And every rose and lily there did stand
Better attir'd by nature's hand : [1]
The case thus judg'd against the king we see,
By one, that would not be so rich, though wiser far than he.

VIII

Nor does this happy place only dispense
Such various pleasures to the sense ;
Here health itself does live,
That salt of life, which does to all a relish give,
Its standing pleasure, and intrinsic wealth,
The body's virtue, and the soul's good fortune, health.

[1] *Matth.* vi. 29.

The tree of life, when it in Eden stood,
Did its immortal head to heaven rear;
It lasted a tall cedar, till the flood;
Now a small thorny shrub it does appear;
Nor will it thrive too everywhere:
It always here is freshest seen;
'Tis only here an evergreen.
If, through the strong and beauteous fence
Of temperance and innocence,
And wholesome labours, and a quiet mind,
Any diseases passage find,
They must not think here to assail
A land unarm'd, or without a guard;
They must fight for it, and dispute it hard,
Before they can prevail:
Scarce any plant is growing here,
Which against death some weapon does not bear,
Let cities boast, that they provide
For life the ornaments of pride;
But 'tis the country and the field,
That furnish it with staff and shield.[1]

—*staff and shield*] *i. e.* bread and physic; the former, to *sustain* man's life, and the latter, to *guara* it against disease and sickness.

IX

Where does the wisdom and the power divine
In a more bright and sweet reflection shine?
Where do we finer strokes and colours see
Of the Creator's real poetry,
    Than when we with attention look
Upon the third day's volume of the book?
If we could open and intend our eye,
    We all, like Moses, should espy
Ev'n in a bush the radiant Deity.
But we despise these his inferior ways
(Though no less full of miracle and praise):
    Upon the flowers of heaven we gaze;
The stars of earth [1] no wonder in us raise,
    Though these perhaps do more, than they,
        The life of mankind sway,

[1] —*flowers of heaven—stars of earth*] A poetical conversion, much to the taste of Mr. Cowley; but the prettier and easier, because many plants and flowers are of a *radiate* form, and are called *stars*, not in the poet's vocabulary only, but in that of the botanist and florist: as, on the other hand, the stars of heaven—

"Blushing in bright diversities of day—"

as the poet says of the garden's *bloomy bed*, very naturally present themselves under the idea, and take the name, of *flowers*.

Although no part of mighty nature be
More stor'd with beauty, power, and mystery;
Yet to encourage human industry,
God has so order'd, that no other part
Such space and such dominion leaves for art.

x

We nowhere art do so triumphant see,
As when it grafts or buds the tree:
In other things we count it to excel,
If it a docile scholar can appear
To nature, and but imitate her well;
It overrules, and is her master here,
It imitates her Maker's power divine,
And changes her sometimes, and sometimes does refine:
It does, like grace, the fallen tree restore
To its blest state of Paradise before:
Who would not joy to see His conquering hand
O'er all the vegetable world command?
And the wild giants of the wood receive
What law He's pleased to give?
He bids th' ill-natured crab produce
The gentler apple's winy juice;

The golden fruit, that worthy is
Of Galatea's purple kiss ; [1]
He does the savage hawthorn teach
To bear the medlar and the pear ;
He bids the rustic plum to rear
A noble trunk, and be a peach.
Even Daphne's coyness he does mock,
And weds the cherry to her stock,
Though she refus'd Apollo's suit ;
Even she, that chaste and virgin tree,
Now wonders at herself, to see
That she's a mother made, and blushes in her fruit.

XI

Methinks I see great Diocletian walk
In the Salonian garden's noble shade,
Which by his own imperial hands was made :
I see him smile (methinks) as he does talk
With the ambassadors, who come in vain,
T' entice him to a throne again.

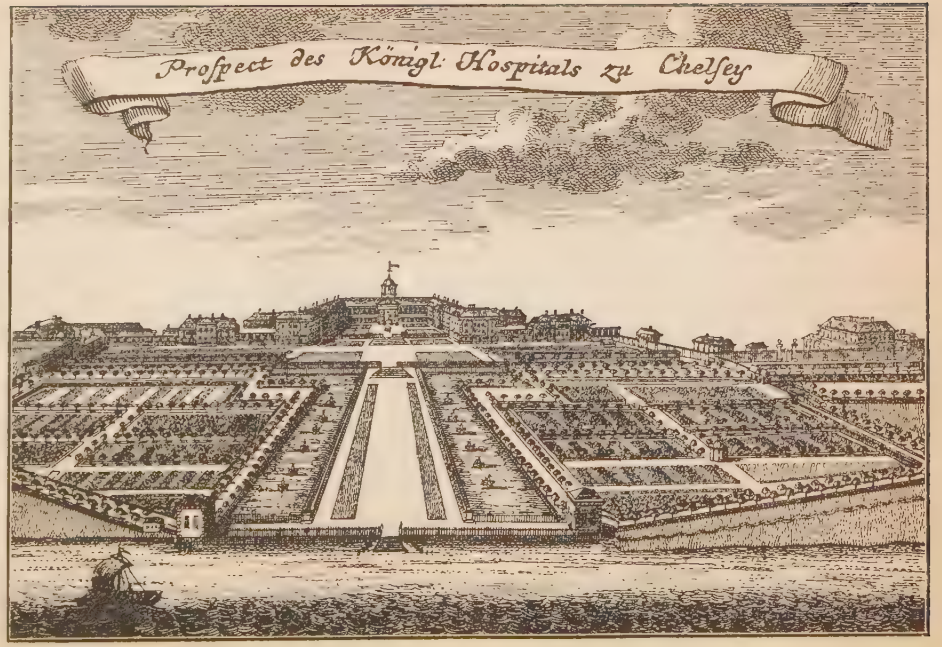
[1] —*that worthy is*
Of Galatea's purple kiss] An idea, conceived, and expressed, in the best manner of Shakespeare.

If I, my friends (said he) should to you show
All the delights, which in these gardens grow;
'Tis likelier much, that you should with me stay,
Than 'tis, that you should carry me away:
And trust me not, my friends, if every day,
I walk not here with more delight,
Than ever, after the most happy fight,
In triumph to the capitol I trod,
To thank the gods, and to be thought, myself almost
a god.

THE GARDEN OF CYRUS
MISCELLANIES

1. Upon Several Plants Mentioned in Scripture.
2. Of Garlands.
3. On Grafting.

BY
SIR THOMAS BROWNE
(1605–1682)

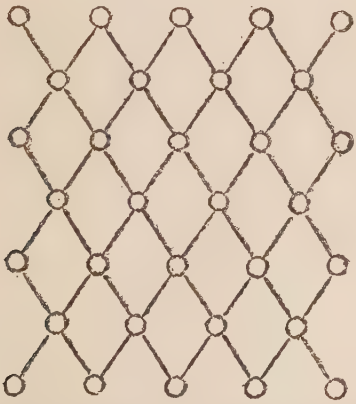


THE GARDENS OF CHELSEA HOSPITAL.

THE GARDEN
OF
CYRUS;

OR, THE QUINCUNCIAL LOZENGE:
OR, NET-WORK PLANTATIONS OF THE ANCIENTS;
ARTIFICIALLY, NATURALLY, AND MYSTICALLY,
CONSIDERED.

By Sir Thomas Browne.



Quid Quincunce speciosius, qui, in quamcunque partem spectaveris, rectus est?—QUINCTILIAN.

ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN 1658

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

TO MY WORTHY AND HONOURED FRIEND

NICHOLAS BACON, OF GILLINGHAM, ESQUIRE.

HAD I not observed that purblind men have discoursed well of sight, and some without issue,[1] excellently of generation; I, that was never master of any considerable garden, had not attempted this subject. But the earth is the garden of nature, and each fruitful country a Paradise. Dioscorides made most of his observations in his march about with Antonius; and Theophrastus raised his generalities chiefly from the field.

Besides, we write no Herbal, nor can this volume deceive you, who have handled the massiest thereof: who know that three folios[2] are yet too little, and how new herbals fly from America upon us: from persevering enquirers, and hold in those singularities, we expect such descriptions. Wherein England is now so exact, that it yields not to other countries.

[1] Dr. Harvey. [2] Bauhin's *Theatrum Botanicum*.

We pretend not to multiply vegetable divisions by quincuncial and reticulate plants; or erect a new phytology.[1] The field of knowledge hath been so traced, it is hard to spring any thing new. Of old things we write something new, if truth may receive addition, or envy will have any thing new; since the ancients knew the late anatomical discoveries, and Hippocrates the circulation.

. . . . .

You have wisely ordered your vegetable delights, beyond the reach of exception. The Turks who passed their days in gardens here, will have gardens also hereafter; and delighting in flowers on earth, must have lilies and roses in heaven. In garden delights 'tis not easy to hold a mediocrity; that insinuating pleasure is seldom without some extremity. The ancients venially delighted in flourishing gardens; many were florists that knew not the true use of a flower; and in Pliny's days none had directly treated of that subject. Some commendably affected plantations of venomous vegetables, some confined their delights unto single plants, and Cato seemed to dote upon cabbage; while the ingenuous delight of tulipists

[1] As did Erasmus Darwin later.

stands saluted with hard language, even by their own professors.

That in this garden discourse, we range into extraneous things, and many parts of art and nature, we follow herein the example of old and new plantations, wherein noble spirits contented not themselves with trees, but by the attendance of aviaries, fish-ponds, and all variety of animals they made their gardens the epitome of the earth, and some resemblance of the secular shows of old. . . .

Norwich, May 1, 1658

CHAPTER I

On the Gardens of Antiquity—Gardens of Paradise—Pensile, or hanging, of Babylon, ascribed to Semiramis—Those of Nebuchodonosor—Name (Paradise), Persian origin of—Cyrus, the elaer, so improved the gardens of Babylon, that he was thought the author of them—Cyrus, the younger, brother of Artaxerxes, a manual planter of gardens—Xenophon's description of his plantation at Sardis—Explanation of the rhomboidal or lozenge formation—Compared to St. Andrew's Cross—And the Egyptian crux ansata—Dr. Young's remark on this last—The Tenupha of the Jewish rabbins—The quincunx much used by the ancients; little discoursed of by the moderns—Considerable, for its several commodities, mysteries, parallelisms, and resemblances, both in nature and art—Used in the Gardens of Babylon and Alcinous; the plantations of Diomed's father, and Ulysses; in those described by Theophrastus and Aristotle and in later plantations—Probably by Noah, and if so, why not before the flood?—In Abraham's grove at Beersheba; in the garden of Solomon—In paradise the tree of knowledge would supply a centre and rule of decussation.

That Vulcan gave arrows unto Apollo and Diana the fourth day after their nativities, according to Gentile theology, may pass for no blind apprehension of the creation of the sun and moon, in the work of

the fourth day: when the diffused light contracted into orbs, and shooting rays of those luminaries. Plainer descriptions there are from Pagan pens, of the creatures of the fourth day. While the divine philosopher unhappily omitteth the noblest part of the third, and Ovid (whom many conceive to have borrowed his description from Moses), coldly deserting the remarkable account of the text, in three words describeth this work of the third day,—the vegetable creation, and first ornamental scene of nature,—the primitive food of animals, and first story of physic in dietetical conservation.

For though Physic may plead high, from that medical act of God, in casting so deep a sleep upon our first parent, and Chirurgery find its whole art, in that one passage concerning the rib of Adam; yet is there no rivality with Garden contrivance and Herbery; for if Paradise were planted the third day of the creation, as wiser divinity concludeth, the nativity thereof was too early for horoscopy: gardens were before gardeners, and but some hours after the earth.

Of deeper doubt is its topography and local designation; yet being the primitive garden, and without much controversy seated in the east, it is more than probable the first curiosity, and cultivation of plants,

most flourished in those quarters. And since the ark of Noah first touched upon some mountains of Armenia, the planting art arose again in the east, and found its revolution not far from the place of its nativity, about the plains of those regions. And if Zoroaster were either Cham, Chus, or Mizraim, they were early proficients therein, who left, as Pliny delivereth, a work of Agriculture.

However, the account of the pensile or hanging gardens of Babylon, if made by Semiramis, the third or fourth from Nimrod, is of no slender antiquity; which being not framed upon ordinary level of ground, but raised upon pillars, admitting under-passages, we cannot accept as the first Babylonian gardens,—but a more eminent progress and advancement in that art than any that went before it; somewhat answering or hinting the old opinion concerning Paradise itself, with many conceptions elevated above the plan of the earth.

Nebuchodonosor (whom some will have to be the famous Syrian king of Diodorus) beautifully repaired that city, and so magnificently built his hanging gardens,[1] that from succeeding writers he had the honour of the first. From whence overlooking Baby-

[1] *Josephus.*

lon, and all the region about it, he found no circumscription to the eye of his ambition; till over-delighted with the bravery of this Paradise, in his melancholy metamorphosis he found the folly of that delight, and a proper punishment in the contrary habitation—in wild plantations and wanderings of the fields.

The Persian gallants, who destroyed this monarchy, maintained their botanical bravery. Unto whom we owe the very name of Paradise, wherewith we meet not in Scripture before the time of Solomon, and conceived originally Persian. The word for that disputed garden expressing, in the Hebrew, no more than a field enclosed, which from the same root is content to derive a garden and a buckler.

Cyrus the Elder, brought up in woods and mountains, when time and power enabled, pursued the dictate of his education, and brought the treasures of the field into rule and circumscription. So nobly beautifying the hanging gardens of Babylon, that he was also thought to be the author thereof.

Ahasuerus (whom many conceive to have been Artaxerxes Longi-manus), in the country and city of flowers, and in an open garden, entertained his princes and people, while Vashti more modestly treated the ladies within the palace thereof.

But if, as some opinion,[1] King Ahasuerus were Artaxerxes Memnon, that found a life and reign answerable unto his great memory, our magnified Cyrus was his second brother, who gave the occasion of that memorable work, and almost miraculous retreat of Xenophon. A person of high spirit and honour, naturally a king, though fatally prevented by the harmless chance of post-geniture; not only a lord of gardens, but a manual planter thereof, disposing his trees, like his armies, in regular ordination. So that while old Laertes hath found a name in Homer for pruning hedges, and clearing away thorns and briars; while King Attalus lives for his poisonous plantations of aconites, henbane, hellebore, and plants hardly admitted within the walls of Paradise; while many of the ancients do poorly live in the single names of vegetables; all stories do look upon Cyrus as the splendid and regular planter.

According whereto Xenophon[2] describeth his gallant plantation at Sardis, thus rendered by Strebæus. "*Arbores pari intervallo sitas, rectos ordines, et omnia perpulchrè in Quincuncem*[3] *directa.*" Which we shall take for granted as being accordingly rendered by the

[1] Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes.* [2] In *Œconomico.*

[3] ὀρθοι δε ὁι στιχοι are the Greek words.

most elegant of the Latins, and by no made term, but in use before by Varro. That is, the rows and orders so handsomely disposed, or five trees so set together, that a regular angularity, and thorough prospect, was left on every side. Owing this name not only unto the quintuple number of trees, but the figure declaring that number, which being double at the angle, makes up the letter X, that is, the emphatical decussation, or fundamental figure.

Now though, in some ancient and modern practice, the area, or decussated plot might be a perfect square, answerable to a Tuscan pedestal, and the *quinquernio* or cinque point of a dye, wherein by diagonal lines the intersection was rectangular; accommodable unto plantations of large growing trees, and we must not deny ourselves the advantage of this order; yet shall we chiefly insist upon that of Curtius[1] and Porta,[2] in their brief description hereof. Wherein the *decussis* is made within in a longilateral square, with opposite angles, acute and obtuse at the intersection, and so upon progression making a *rhombus* or lozenge figuration, which seemeth very agreeable unto the original figure. Answerable whereunto we observe the decussated characters in many consulary coins, and even in

[1] *De Hortis.* [2] *In Villa.*

those of Constantine and his sons, which pretend their pattern in the sky; the crucigerous ensign carried this figure, not transversely or rectangularly intersected, but in a decussation, after the form of an Andrean or Burgundian cross, which answereth this description.

. . . . .

Of this quincuncial ordination the ancients practised much, discoursed little; and the moderns have nothing enlarged; which he that more nearly considereth, in the form of its square rhombus, and decussation, with the several commodities, mysteries, parallelisms, and resemblances, both in art and nature, shall easily discern the elegancy of this order.

That this was in some ways of practice in divers and distant nations, hints or deliveries there are from no slender antiquity. In the hanging gardens of Babylon, from Abydenus, Eusebius, and others, Curtius describeth this rule of decussation.[1] In the memorable garden of Alcinous, anciently conceived an original fancy from Paradise, mention there is of well-contrived order; for so hath Didymus and Eustachius expounded the emphatical word. Diomedes, describing the rural possessions of his father, gives account in the same

[1] Decussatio ipsa jucundum ac peramœnum conspectum præbuit.—*De Hortis*, lib. 6.

language of trees orderly planted. And Ulysses being a boy, was promised by his father forty fig-trees, and fifty rows of vines producing all kinds of grapes.

That the eastern inhabitants of India made use of such order, even in open plantations, is deducible from Theophrastus; who, describing the trees whereof they made their garments, plainly delivereth that they were planted κατ' ὄρχους, and in such order that at a distance men would mistake them for vineyards. The same seems confirmed in Greece from a singular expression in Aristotle[1] concerning the order of vines, delivered by a military term representing the orders of soldiers, which also confirmeth the antiquity of this form yet used in vineal plantations.

That the same was used in Latin plantations is plainly confirmed from the commending pen of Varro Quintilian, and handsome description of Virgil,

"Indulge ordinibus, nec secius omnis in unguem,
Arboritus positis, secto via limite quadret."

Georg. II.

[1] *Polit. 7.*

CHAPTER II

The quincuncial form adopted in the Arts—It is employed in various contrivances; in architecture—In the crowns of the ancients; their beds, seats, lattices—In nets, by lapidaries and sculptors—In the rural charm against dodder; in the game of pentalithismus; in ligatures and forcipal instruments—In the Roman battalia, ana Grecian cavalry—In the Macedonian phalanx; the ancient cities built in square, or parallelogram—In the labyrinth of Crete, probably in the ark, the table of shew bread, and those of the law—Several beds of the ancients mentioned.

That the networks and nets of antiquity were little different in the form from ours at present, is confirmable from the nets in the hands of the retiary gladiators, the proper combatants with the secutores. To omit the ancient conopeion or gnat-net of the Ægyptians, the inventors of that artifice; the rushy labyrinths of Theocritus; the nosegay nets, which hung from the head under the nostrils of princes; and that uneasy metaphor of reticulum jecoris, which some expound the lobe, we the caul above the liver. As for that famous network of Vulcan, which inclosed Mars and Venus, and caused that unextinguishable laugh in heaven,—since the gods themselves could not discern it, we shall not pry into it: although why Vulcan bound them, Neptune loosed them, and Apollo should first discover them, might afford no vulgar mythology.

CHAPTER III

The quincuncial form observable, in many of the works of nature—To pass over the constellations, we find it in gypsum—In the asterias; in the juli of several plants; in the flowers and seed-heads of others; in some fruits; in the network of some sea-weeds—In teazel, bur, thistle, and elder—In sun-flower, fir-apples, &c.—In the rudimental spring of seeds—The process of germination considered—Dr. Power's letter on this subject, with B.'s answer—Digression, on the production of one creature from the body of another—Explained of the ichneumonidæ, and entozoa—The number five exists in a number of instances in the leaves and parts of flowers, and is remarkable in every circle—Notice of Mr. Colebrooke's paper on dichotomous and quinary arrangements—Other instances of the number five—In animal figurations; in some insects; and in honey-comb—In the eyes, eggs, and cells of insects; in the skins of snakes, the tail of the beaver—In the skins and feet of birds, the scales of fish, the skin of man, &c.—In many of the internal membranes of man and animals—The motion of animals quincuncial—Cruciform appearances in many plants—Various analogies traced in vegetables, animals, and insects—Proportions in the motive parts of animals and birds, and obscurely in plants—Modern observations hereon.

. . . . .

Now although this elegant ordination of vegetables hath found coincidence or imitation in sundry works of

art, yet is it not also destitute of natural examples; and, though overlooked by all, was elegantly observable, in several works of nature.

. . . . .

The same is observably effected in the *jülus*, catkins, or pendulous excrescencies of several trees; of walnuts, alders, and hazels, which hanging all the winter, and maintaining their network close, by the expansion thereof are the early foretellers of the spring: discoverable also in long pepper, and elegantly in the *jülus* of *calamus aromaticus*, so plentifully growing with us, in the first palms of willows, and in the flowers of sycamore, *petasites*, *asphodelus*, and *blattaria*, before explication. After such order stand the flowery branches in our best spread *verbascum*, and the seeds about the spicous head or torch of *thapsus barbatus*, in as fair a regularity as the circular and wreathed order will admit, which advanceth one side of the square, and makes the same rhomboidal. In the squamous heads of scabious, knapweed, and the elegant *jacea pinea*, and in the scaly composure of the oak rose which some years most aboundeth. After this order hath nature planted the leaves in the head of the common and prickled artichoke, wherein the black and shining flies do shelter themselves, when they retire from the

purple flower about it. The same is also found in the pricks, sockets, and impressions of the seeds, in the pulp or bottom thereof; wherein do elegantly stick the fathers of their mother: to omit the quincuncial specks on the top of the miscle-berry, especially that which grows upon the *tilia*, or lime tree; and the remarkable disposure of those yellow fringes about the purple pestil of Aaron, and elegant clusters of dragons, so peculiarly secured by nature, with an umbrella or skreening leaf about them.

. . . . .

The rose at first is thought to have been of five leaves, as it yet groweth wild among us, but in the most luxuriant, the calicular leaves do still maintain that number. But nothing is more admired than the five brethren of the rose, and the strange disposure of the appendices or beards, in the calicular leaves thereof, which in despair of resolution is tolerably salved from this contrivance, best ordered and suited for the free closure of them before explication. For those two which are smooth, and of no beard, are contrived to lie undermost, as without prominent parts, and fit to be smoothly covered; the other two which are beset with beards on either side, stand outward and uncovered, but the fifth or half-bearded leaf is covered on the bare

side, but on the open side stands free, and bearded like the other.

Besides, a large number of leaves have five divisions, and may be circumscribed by a pentagon or figure of five angles, made by right lines from the extremity of their leaves, as in maple, vine, fig-tree; but five-leaved flowers are commonly disposed circularly about the stylus, according to the higher geometry of nature, dividing a circle by five radii, which concur not to make diameters, as in quadrilateral and sexangular intersections.

CHAPTER IV

On the various conveniences and delights of the quincunx—In the due proportion of earth, allowed by it—In the room afforded for equal spreading of the trees, and the due circulation of air—In the action of the sun—In the greatest economy of space—In mutual shelter for currents of winds—Effect of water and oil on the germination of seeds—Note thereon—Whether ivy would do less injury in this arrangement?—Great variety afforded by this order—Grateful to the eye by its regular green shade—Seeds lie in perpetual shade—This order is agreeable to the eye, as consonant to the angles observable in the laws of optics and acoustics—Plato chose this figure to illustrate the motion of the soul.

. . . . .

Now if for this order we affect coniferous and tapering trees, particularly the cypress, which grows in a conical figure; we have found a tree not only of great ornament, but, in its essentials, of affinity unto this order: a solid rhombus being made by the conversion of two equicrural cones, as Archimedes hath defined. And these were the common trees about Babylon, and the East, whereof the ark was made: and Alexander found no trees so accommodable to

build his navy :—and this we rather think to be the tree mentioned in the Canticles, which stricter botanology will hardly allow to be camphire.

And if delight or ornamental view invite a comely disposure by circular amputations, as is elegantly performed in hawthorns, then will they answer the figures made by the conversion of a rhombus, which maketh two concentrical circles ; the greater circumference being made by the lesser angles, the lesser by the greater.

The cylindrical figure of trees is virtually contained and latent in this order ; a cylinder or long round being made by the conversion or turning of a parallelogram, and most handsomely by a long square, which makes an equal, strong, and lasting figure in trees, agreeable unto the body and motive part of animals, the greatest number of plants, and almost all roots, though their stalk be angular, and of many corners, which seem not to follow the figure of their seeds ; since many angular seeds send forth round stalks, and spherical seeds arise from angular spindles, and many rather conform unto their roots, as the round stalks of bulbous roots and in tuberous roots stems of like figure. But why, since the largest number of plants maintain a circular figure, there are so few with teretous or long

round leaves? Why coniferous trees are tenuifolious or narrow-leafed? Why plants of few or no joints have commonly round stalks? Why the greatest number of hollow stalks are round stalks; or why in this variety of angular stalks the quadrangular most exceedeth, were too long a speculation? Meanwhile obvious experience may find, that in plants of divided leaves above, nature often beginneth circularly in the two first leaves below, while in the singular plant of ivy she exerciseth a contrary geometry, and beginning with angular leaves below, rounds them in the upper branches.

Nor can the rows in this order want delight, as carrying an aspect answerable unto the *dipteros hypæthros*, or double order of columns open above; the opposite ranks of trees standing like pillars in the *cavedia* of the courts of famous buildings, and the porticoes of the *templa subdialia* of old; somewhat imitating the *peristylia* or cloister-buildings, and the *exedræ* of the ancients, wherein men discoursed, walked, and exercised; for that they derived the rule of columns from trees, especially in their proportional diminutions, is illustrated by Vitruvius from the shafts of fir and pine. And, though the inter-arboration do imitate the *areostylos*, or thin order, not strictly

answering the proportion of inter-columniations: yet in many trees they will not exceed the intermission of the columns in the court of the Tabernacle; which being an hundred cubits long, and made up by twenty pillars, will afford no less than intervals of five cubits.

Beside, in this kind of aspect the sight being not diffused, but circumscribed between long parallels and the ἐπισκιασμὸς and adumbration from the branches, it frameth a penthouse over the eye, and maketh a quiet vision:—and therefore in diffused and open aspects, men hollow their hand above their eye, and make an artificial brow, whereby they direct the dispersed rays of sight, and by this shade preserve a moderate light in the chamber of the eye; keeping the pupilla plump and fair, and not contracted or shrunk, as in light and vagrant vision.

And therefore Providence hath arched and paved the great house of the world, with colours of mediocrity, that is, blue and green, above and below the sight, moderately terminating the *acies* of the eye. For most plants, though green above ground, maintain their original white below it, according to the candour of their seminal pulp: and the rudimental leaves do first appear in that colour, observable in seeds sprouting in

water upon their first foliation. Green seeming to be the first supervenient, or above ground complexion of vegetables, separable in many upon ligature or inhumation, as succory, endive, artichokes, and which is also lost upon fading in the autumn.

CHAPTER V

On the mysteries and secrets of this order—Five the number of justice, called by Plutarch the divisive number, justly dividing the entities of the world—Opinions of the ablest modern naturalists on the quinary arrangement—The conjugal number; character of generation—A stable number, as we never find animals with five legs, nor with ten—Query as to Phalangium—This number often to be observed in scriptural, medical, astrological, cabalistical, magical examples—Concluding passage—The Quincunx of Heaven—Night—Sleep.

. . . . .

But the quincunx of heaven runs low, and 'tis time to close the five ports of knowledge. We are unwilling to spin out our awaking thoughts into the phantasms of sleep, which often continueth precogitations; making cables of cobwebs, and wildernesses of handsome groves. Beside Hippocrates hath spoke so little, and the oneirocritical masters have left such frigid interpretations from plants, that there is little encouragement to dream of Paradise itself. Nor will the sweetest delight of gardens afford much comfort in sleep; wherein the dulness of that sense shakes hands

with delectable odours; and though in the bed of Cleopatra, can hardly with any delight raise up the ghost of a rose.

Night, which Pagan theology could make the daughter of Chaos, affords no advantage to the description of order; although no lower than that mass can we derive its genealogy. All things began in order, so shall they end, and so shall they begin again; according to the ordainer of order and mystical mathematicks of the city of heaven.

Though Somnus in Homer be sent to rouse up Agamemnon, I find no such effects in these drowsy approaches of sleep. To keep our eyes open longer, were but to act our Antipodes. The huntsmen are up in America, and they are already past their first sleep in Persia. But who can be drowsy at that hour which freed us from everlasting sleep? or have slumbering thoughts at that time, when sleep itself must end, and as some conjecture all shall awake again.

MISCELLANIES,

By Sir Thomas Browne

OBSERVATIONS UPON SEVERAL PLANTS MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE

Sir,[1]—Though many ordinary heads run smoothly over the Scripture, yet I must acknowledge it is one of the hardest books I have met with; and therefore well deserveth those numerous comments, expositions, and annotations, which make up a good part of our libraries.

However, so affected I am therewith, that I wish there had been more of it, and a larger volume of that divine piece, which leaveth such welcome impressions, and somewhat more, in the readers, than the words and sense after it. At least, who would not be glad that many things barely hinted were at large delivered in it? The particulars of the dispute between the doctors and our Saviour could not but be welcome to those who have every word in honour which proceedeth from his mouth, or was otherwise delivered by him; and so

[1] "Most of these letters were written to Sir Nicholas Bacon."—Evelyn's note.

would be glad to be assured, what he wrote with his finger on the ground: but especially to have a particular of that instructing narration or discourse which he made unto the disciples after his resurrection, where 'tis said: "And beginning at Moses, and all the prophets, he expounded unto them, in all the Scriptures, the things concerning himself."

But, to omit theological obscurities, you must needs observe that most sciences do seem to have something more nearly to consider in the expressions of the Scripture.

Astronomers find herein the names but of few stars, scarce so many as in Achilles's buckler in Homer, and almost the very same. But in some passages of the Old Testament they think they discover the zodiacal course of the sun; and they, also, conceive an astronomical sense in that elegant expression of St. James "concerning the father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning:" and therein an allowable allusion unto the tropical conversion of the sun, whereby ensueth a variation of heat, light, and also of shadows from it. But whether the *stellæ erraticæ* or wandering stars, in St. Jude, may be referred to the celestial planets or some meteorological wandering stars, *ignes fatui*, *stellæ cadentes et erraticæ*, or

had any allusion unto the impostor Barchochebas or Stellæ Filius, who afterward appeared, and wandered about in the time of Adrianus, they leave unto conjecture.

Chirurgeons may find their whole art in that one passage, concerning the rib which God took out of Adam; that is, their διαίρεσις in opening the flesh, ἐξαίρεσις in taking out the rib; and σύνθεσις in closing and healing the part again.

Rhetoricians and orators take singular notice of very many excellent passages, stately metaphors, noble tropes, and elegant expressions, not to be found or paralleled in any other author.

Mineralists look earnestly into the twenty-eighth of Job; take special notice of the early artifice in brass and iron, under Tubal Cain; and find also mention of gold, silver, brass, tin, lead, iron; beside refining, soldering, dross, nitre, salt-pits, and in some manner also of antimony.

Gemmary naturalists read diligently the precious stones in the holy city of the Apocalypse; examine the breast-plate of Aaron, and various gems upon it; and think the second row the nobler of the four. They wonder to find the art of engravery so ancient upon precious stones and signets; together with the

ancient use of ear-rings and bracelets. And are pleased to find pearl, coral, amber, and crystal, in those sacred leaves, according to our translation. And when they often meet with flints and marbles, cannot but take notice that there is no mention of the magnet or load-stone, which in so many similitudes, comparisons, and allusions, could hardly have been omitted in the works of Solomon: if it were true that he knew either the attractive or directive power thereof, as some have believed.

Navigators consider the ark, which was pitched without and within, and could endure the ocean without mast or sails: they take special notice of the twenty-seventh of Ezekiel; the mighty traffic and great navigation of Tyre, with particular mention of their sails, their masts of cedar, oars of oak, their skilful pilots, mariners, and caulkers; as also of the long voyages of the fleets of Solomon; of Jehosaphat's ships broken at Ezion-Geber; of the notable voyage and ship-wreck of St. Paul so accurately delivered in the Acts.

Oneirocritical diviners apprehend some hints of their knowledge, even from divine dreams; while they take notice of the dreams of Joseph, Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, and the angels on Jacob's ladder; and find, in Artemidorus and Achmetes, that ladders signify travels,

and the scales thereof preferment; and that oxen lean and fat naturally denote scarcity or plenty, and the successes of agriculture.

Physiognomists will largely put in from very many passages of Scripture. And when they find in Aristotle, *quibus frons quadrangula commensurata, fortes, referuntur ad leones*, cannot but take special notice of that expression concerning the Gadites; mighty men of war, fit for battle, whose faces were as the faces of lions.

Geometrical and architectonical artists look narrowly upon the description of the ark, the fabric of the temple, and the holy city in the Apocalypse.

But the botanical artist meets everywhere with vegetables, and from the fig leaf in Genesis to the star wormwood in the Apocalypse, are variously interspersed expressions from plants, elegantly advantaging the significancy of the text: whereof many being delivered in a language proper unto Judæa and neighbour countries, are imperfectly apprehended by the common reader, and now doubtfully made out, even by the Jewish expositor.

And even in those which are confessedly known, the elegancy is often lost in the apprehension of the reader, unacquainted with such vegetables, or but nakedly

knowing their natures: whereof holding a pertinent apprehension, you cannot pass over such expressions without some doubt or want of satisfaction in your judgment. Hereof we shall only hint or discourse some few which I could not but take notice of in the reading of holy Scripture.

Many plants are mentioned in Scripture which are not distinctly known in our countries, or under such names in the original, as they are fain to be rendered by analogy, or by the name of vegetables of good affinity unto them, and so maintain the texual sense, though in some variation from identity.

1. That plant which afforded a shade unto Jonah,[1] mentioned by the name of *kikaion*, and still retained, at least marginally, in some translations, to avoid obscurity Jerome rendered *hedera* or ivy; which notwithstanding (except in its scandent nature) agreed not fully with the other, that is, to grow up in a night, or be consumed with a worm; ivy being of no swift growth, little subject unto worms, and a scarce plant about Babylon.

2. That hyssop is taken for that plant which cleansed the leper, being a well-scented and very abstersive simple, may well be admitted; so we be not too

[1] Jonah iv. 6—a gourd.

confident, that it is strictly the same with our common hyssop: the hyssop of those parts differing from that of ours; as Bellonius hath observed in the hyssop which grows in Judæa, and the hyssop of the wall mentioned in the works of Solomon, no kind of our hyssop; and may tolerably be taken for some kind of minor capillary, which best makes out the antithesis with the cedar. Nor when we meet with *libanotis*, is it to be conceived our common rosemary, which is rather the first kind thereof amongst several others, used by the ancients.

3. That it must be taken for hemlock, which is twice so rendered in our translation,[1] will hardly be made out, otherwise than in the intended sense, and implying some plant, wherein bitterness or a poisonous quality is considerable.

4. What Tremellius rendereth *spina*, and the vulgar translation *paliurus*, and others make some kind of *rhamnus*, is allowable in the sense; and we contend not about the species, since they are known thorns in those countries, and in our fields or gardens among us: and so common in Judæa, that men conclude the thorny crown of our Saviour was made either of *paliurus* or *rhamnus*.

[1] Hosea x. 4; Amos vi. 2.

5. Whether the bush which burnt and consumed not, were properly a *rubus* or bramble, was somewhat doubtful from the original and some translations, had not the Evangelist, and St. Paul expressed the same by the Greek word, βάτος, which, from the description of Dioscorides, herbalists accept for *rubus:* although the same word βάτος expresseth not only the *rubus* or kinds of bramble, but other thorny bushes, and the hip-brier is also named κυνοσβάτος, or the dog-brier or bramble.

6. That *myrica* is rendered heath,[1] sounds instructively enough to our ears, who behold that plant so common in barren plains among us: but you cannot but take notice that *erica*, or our heath, is not the same plant with *myrica* or tamarice, described by Theophrastus and Dioscorides, and which Bellonius declareth to grow so plentifully in the deserts of Judæa and Arabia.

7. That the βότρυς τῆς κύπροῦ, *botrus cypri*,[1] or clusters of cypress, should have any reference to the cypress tree, according to the original, *copher*, or clusters of the noble vine of Cyprus, which might be planted into Judæa, may seem to others allowable in some latitude. But there seeming some noble odour to be

[1] Cant. i. 14.

implied in this place, you may probably conceive that the expression drives at the κύπρος of Dioscorides, some oriental kind of *ligustrum* or *alcharma*, which Dioscorides and Pliny mention under the name of κύπρος and *cyprus*, and to grow about Egypt and Ascalon, producing a sweet and odorate bush of flowers, and out of which was made the famous *oleum cyprinum*.

But why it should be rendered camphor your judgment cannot but doubt, who know that our camphor was unknown unto the ancients, and no ingredient into any composition of great antiquity: that learned men long conceived it a bituminous and fossil body, and our latest experience discovereth it to be the resinous substance of a tree, in Borneo and China; and that the camphor that we use is a neat preparation of the same.

8. When 'tis said in Isaiah xli. "I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah tree, and the myrtle, and the oil tree, I will set in the desert, the fir tree, and the pine, and the box tree:" though some doubt may be made of the shittah tree, yet all these trees here mentioned being such as are ever green, you will more emphatically apprehend the merciful meaning of God in this mention of no fading, but always verdant trees in dry and desert places.

9. "And they cut down a branch with one cluster of grapes, and they bare it between two upon a staff, and they brought pomegranates and figs." This cluster of grapes brought upon a staff by the spies was an incredible sight, in Philo Judæus, seemed notable in the eyes of the Israelites, but more wonderful in our own, who look only upon northern vines. But herein you are like to consider, that the cluster was thus carefully carried to represent it entire, without bruising or breaking; that this was not one bunch, but an extraordinary cluster, made up of many depending upon one gross stalk. And, however, might be paralleled with the eastern clusters of Margiana and Caramania, if we allow but half the expressions of Pliny and Strabo, whereof one would lade a curry or small cart; and may be made out by the clusters of the grapes of Rhodes presented unto Duke Radzivil, each containing three parts of an ell in compass, and the grapes as big as prunes.

10. Some things may be doubted in the species of the holy ointment and perfume.[1] With amber, musk, and civet we meet not in the Scripture, nor any odours from animals; except we take the *onycha* of that perfume, for the covercle of a shell-fish, called *unguis*

[1] Exod. xxx. 34, 35.

odoratus, or *blatta byzantina*, which Dioscorides affirmeth to be taken from a shell-fish of the Indian lakes, which feedeth upon the aromatical plants, is gathered when the lakes are dry. But whether that which we now call *blatta byzantina* or *unguis odoratus*, be the same with that odorate one of antiquity, great doubt may be made; since Dioscorides saith it smelled like *castoreum*, and that which we now have is of an ungrateful odour.

No little doubt may be also made of *galbanum* prescribed in the same perfume, if we take it for *galbanum*, which is of common use among us, approaching the evil scent of *assafœtida*; and not rather for *galbanum* of good odour as the adjoining words declare, and the original *chelbena* will bear; which implieth a fat or resinous substance; that which is commonly known among us being properly a gummous body and dissoluble also in water.

The holy ointment of stacte or pure myrrh, distilling from the plant without expression or firing, of cinnamon, cassia, and *calamus*, containeth less questionable species, if the cinnamon of the ancients were the same with ours, or managed after the same manner. For thereof Dioscorides made his noble unguent. And cinnamon was so highly valued by princes, that

Cleopatra carried it unto her sepulchre with her jewels; which was also kept in wooden boxes among the rarities of kings; and was of such a lasting nature, that at his composing of treacle for the Emperor Severus, Galen made use of some which had been laid up by Adrianus.

11. That the prodigal son desired to eat of husks given unto swine, will hardly pass in your apprehension for the husks of pease, beans, or such edulious pulses; as well understanding that the texual word κεράτιον, or *ceration*, properly intendeth the fruit of the *siliqua* tree, so common in Syria, and fed upon by men and beasts; called also by some the fruit of the locust tree, and *panis sancti Johannis*, as conceiving it to have been part of the diet of the Baptist in the desert. The tree and fruit is not only common in Syria and the eastern parts, but also well known in Apuleia and the kingdom of Naples; growing along the Via Appia, from Fundi unto Mola; the hard cods or husks making a rattling noise in windy weather, by beating against one another; called by the Italians, *caróba* or *caróbala*, and by the French, *carouges*. With the sweet pulp hereof some conceive that the Indians preserve ginger, mirabolans, and nutmegs. Of the same (as Pliny delivers) the ancients made one kind of wine, strongly expressing

the juice thereof; and so they might after give the expressed and less useful part of the cods and remaining pulp unto their swine; which, being no gustless or unsatisfying offal, might be well desired by the prodigal in his hunger.

12. No marvel it is that the Israelites, having lived long in a well-watered country, and been acquainted with the noble water of Nilus, should complain for water in the dry and barren wilderness. More remarkable it seems that they should extol and linger after the cucumbers and leeks, onions and garlick of Egypt; wherein, notwithstanding, lies a pertinent expression of the diet of that country in ancient times, even as high as the building of the pyramids, when Herodotus delivereth, that so many talents were spent in onions and garlick, for the food of labourers and artificers; and is also answerable unto their present plentiful diet in cucumbers, and the great varieties thereof, as testified by Prosper Alpinus, who spent many years in Egypt.

13. What fruit that was which our first parents tasted in Paradise, from the disputes of learned men, seems yet indeterminable. More clear it is that they covered their nakedness or secret parts with fig leaves; which, when I read, I cannot but call to mind the

several considerations which antiquity had of the fig tree, in reference unto those parts, particularly how fig leaves, by sundry authors, are described to have some resemblance unto the genitals, and so were aptly formed for such contection of those parts; how also, in that famous statua of Praxiteles, concerning Alexander and Bucephalus, the secret parts are veiled with fig leaves.

14. That the good Samaritan, coming from Jericho, used any of the Judean balsam upon the wounded traveller, is not to be made out, and we are unwilling to disparage his charitable surgery in pouring oil into a green wound; and, therefore when 'tis said he used oil and wine, may rather conceive that he made an *oinelæum*, or medicine of oil and wine beaten up and mixed together, which was no improper medicine, and is an art now lately studied by some so to incorporate wine and oil, that they may lastingly hold together which some pretend to have, and call it *oleum Samaritanum* or, Samaritan's oil.

15. When Daniel would not pollute himself with the diet of the Babylonians, he probably declined pagan commensation, or to eat of meats forbidden to the Jews, though common at their tables, or so much as to taste of their Gentile immolations, and sacrifices abominable unto his palate.

But when 'tis said that he made choice of the diet of pulse and water, whether he strictly confined unto a leguminous food, according to the vulgar translation, some doubt may be raised from the original word *zeragnim*, which signifies *seminalia*, and is so set down in the margin of Arias Montanus; and the Greek word *spermata*, generally expressing seeds, may signify any edulious or cerealious grains beside ὄσπρια or leguminous seeds.

Yet, if he strictly made choice of a leguminous food, and water, instead of his portion from the king's table, he handsomely declined the diet which might have been put upon him, and particularly that which was called the *potibasis* of the king, which, as Athenæus informeth, implied the bread of the king, made of barley and wheat, and the wine of Cyprus, which he drank in an oval cup. And, therefore, distinctly from that he chose plain fare of water, and the gross diet of pulse, and that, perhaps, not made into bread, but parched and tempered with water.

. . . . .

17. Whether in the sermon of the mount, the lilies of the field did point at the proper lilies, or whether those flowers grew wild in the place where our Saviour preached, some doubt may be made; because κρίνον,

the word in that place, is accounted of the same signification with λείριον, and that in Homer is taken for all manner of specious flowers; so received by Eustachius, Hesychius, and the scholiast upon Apollonius, Καθόλου τὰ ἄνθη λείρια λέγεται. And κρίνον is also received in the same latitude, not signifying only lilies, but applied unto daffodils, hyacinths, irises, and the flowers of colocynthis.

Under the like latitude of acception, are many expressions in the Canticles to be received. And when it is said "he feedeth among the lilies," therein may be also implied other specious flowers, not excluding the proper lilies. But in that expression, "the lilies drop forth myrrh," neither proper lilies nor proper myrrh can be apprehended, the one not proceeding from the other, but may be received in a metaphorical sense: and in some latitude may be made out from the roscid and honey drops observable in the flowers of martagon, and inverted flowered lilies, and, 'tis like, is the standing sweet dew on the white eyes of the crown imperial, now common among us.

And the proper lily may be intended in that expression of 1 Kings vii., that the brazen sea was of the thickness of a hand breadth, and the brim like a lily. For the figure of that flower being round at the

bottom, and somewhat repandous, or inverted at the top, doth handsomely illustrate the comparison.

But that the lily of the valley, mentioned in the Canticles, "I am the rose of Sharon, and the lily of the valley," is that vegetable which passeth under the same name with us, that is, *lilium convallium*, or the May lily, you will more hardly believe, who know with what insatisfaction the most learned botanists reduce that plant unto any described by the ancients; that Anguillara will have it to be the *œnanthe* of Athenæus, Cordus, the *pothos* of Theophrastus, and Lobelius, that the Greeks had not described it; who find not six leaves in the flower, agreeably to all lilies, but only six small divisions in the flower, who find it also to have a single, and no bulbous root, nor leaves shooting about the bottom, nor the stalk round, but angular. And that the learned Bauhinus hath not placed it in the classis of lilies, but nervifolious plants.

. . . . .

21. It is said in the *Song of Solomon*, that "The vines with the tender grape give a good smell." That the flowers of the vine should be emphatically noted to give a pleasant smell seems hard unto our northern nostrils, which discover not such odours, and smell

them not in full vineyards; whereas in hot regions, and more spread and digested flowers, a sweet savour may be allowed, denotable from several human expressions, and the practice of the ancients, in putting the dried flowers of the vine into new wine to give it a pure and flosculous race or spirit, which wine was therefore called *οἰνάνθινον*, allowing unto every *cadus* two pounds of dried flowers.

And therefore, the vine flowering but in the spring, it cannot but seem an impertinent objection of the Jews, that the apostles were "full of new wine at Pentecost," when it was not to be found. Wherefore we may rather conceive that the word *γλεύκυ* in that place implied not new wine or must, but some generous strong and sweet wine, wherein more especially lay the power of inebriation.

But if it be to be taken for some kind of must, it might be some kind of *αἰείγλευκος*, or long lasting must, which might be had at any time of the year, and which, as Pliny delivereth, they made by hindering and keeping the must from fermentation or working, and so it kept soft and sweet for no small time after.

. . . . .

30. You will readily discover how widely they are mistaken, who accept the sycamore mentioned in several

parts of Scripture for the sycamore or tree of that denomination with us; which is properly but one kind or difference of *acer*, and bears no fruit with any resemblance unto a fig.

But you will rather, thereby, apprehend the true and genuine sycamore or *sycaminus*, which is a stranger in our parts. A tree (according to the description of Theophrastus, Dioscorides, and Galen), resembling a mulberry tree in the leaf, but in the fruit a fig; which it produceth not in the twigs but in the trunk or greater branches, answerable to the sycamore of Egypt, the Egyptian fig or *giamez* of the Arabians, described by Prosper Alpinus, with a leaf somewhat broader than a mulberry, and in its fruit like a fig. Insomuch that some have fancied it to have had its first production from a fig tree grafted on a mulberry. It is a tree common in Judæa, whereof they made frequent use in buildings; and so understood, it explaineth that expression in Isaiah[1]: "*Sycamori excisi sunt, cedros substituemus*. The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones: the sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars."

It is a broad spreading tree, not only fit for walks, groves, and shade, but also affording profit. And

[1] Isaiah ix. 10.

therefore it is said that King David [1] appointed Baal-hanan to be over his olive trees and sycamores, which were in great plenty; and it is accordingly delivered, that "Solomon made cedars to be as the sycamore trees that are in the vale for abundance." [2] That is, he planted many, though they did not come to perfection in his days.

And as it grew plentifully about the plains, so was the fruit good for food; and, as Bellonius and late accounts deliver, very refreshing unto travellers in those hot and dry countries: whereby the expression of Amos [3] becomes more intelligible, when he said he was an herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit. And the expression of David [4] also becomes more emphatical: "He destroyed their vines with hail, and their sycamore trees with frost." That is, their *sicmoth* in the original, a word in the sound not far from the sycamore.

Thus, when it is said, "If ye had faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye might say unto this sycamine tree, be thou plucked up by the roots, and be thou placed in the sea, and it should obey you:" [5] it might be

[1] 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. [2] 1 Kings x. 27.
[3] Amos vii. 14. [4] Psalm lxxviii. 47.
[5] Luke xvii. 6.

more significantly spoken of this sycamore; this being described to be *arbor vasta*, a large and well-rooted tree, whose removal was more difficult than many others. And so the instance in that text, is very properly made in the sycamore tree, one of the largest and less removable trees among them. A tree so lasting and well-rooted, that the sycamore which Zaccheus ascended is still shown in Judæa unto travellers; as also the hollow sycamore at Maturæa in Egypt, where the blessed virgin is said to have remained: which though it relisheth of the legend, yet it plainly declareth what opinion they had of the lasting condition of that tree, to countenance the tradition; for which they might not be without some experience, since the learned describer of the pyramids observeth, that the old Egyptians made coffins of this wood, which he found yet fresh and undecayed among divers of their mummies.

And thus, also, when Zaccheus climbed up into a sycamore above any other tree, this being a large and fair one, it cannot be denied that he made choice of a proper and advantageous tree to look down upon our Saviour.

. . . . .

32. "For if thou wert cut out of the olive tree,

which is wild by nature, and wert grafted, contrary to nature, into a good olive tree, how much more shall these which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree?" In which place, how answerable to the doctrine of husbandry this expression of St. Paul is, you will readily apprehend who understand the rules of insition or grafting, and that way of vegetable propagation; wherein it is contrary to nature, or natural rules which art observeth: viz. to make use of scions more ignoble than the stock, or to graft wild upon domestic and good plants, according as Theophrastus hath anciently observed,[1] and, making instance in the olive, hath left this doctrine unto us: *urbanum sylvestribus ut satis oleastris inserere. Nam si è contrario sylvestrem in urbanos severis, etsi differentia quædam erit, tamen bonæ frugis arbor nunquam profecto reddetur:* which is also agreeable unto our present practice, who graft pears on thorns, and apples upon crabstocks, not using the contrary insition.[2] And when it is said, "how much more shall these, which are the natural branches, be grafted into their own natural olive tree?" this is also agreeable unto the rule of the same author; ἔστι δὲ βελτίων ἐγκεντρισμὸς ὁμοίων εἰς ὅμοια, *insitio*

[1] *De Causis Plant.*, lib. i., cap. 7.
[2] See "Observations on Grafting," *post*, p. 158.

melior est similium in similibus: for the nearer consanguinity there is between the scions and the stock, the readier comprehension is made and the nobler fructification. According also unto the later caution of Laurenbergius;[1] *arbores domesticæ insitioni destinatæ, semper anteponendæ sylvestribus.* And though the success be good, and may suffice upon stocks of the same denomination; yet, to be grafted upon their own and mother stock, is the nearest insition: which way, though less practised of old, is now much embraced, and found a notable way for melioration of the fruit, and much the rather, if the tree to be grafted on be a good and generous plant, a good and fair olive, as the apostle seems to imply by a peculiar word, scarce to be found elsewhere.[2]

It must be also considered, that the *oleaster*, or wild olive, by cutting, transplanting, and the best managery of art, can be made but to produce such olives as Theophrastus saith were particularly named *phaulia*, that is, but bad olives; and that it was among prodigies for the *oleaster* to become an olive tree.

And when insition and grafting, in the text, is applied unto the olive tree, it hath an emphatical sense, very

[1] *De Horticultura.*
[2] καλλιέλαιον.—Rom. xi. 24.

agreeable unto that tree which is best propagated this way; not at all by surculation, as Theophrastus observeth,[1] nor well by seed, as hath been observed. *Omne semen simile genus perficit, præter oleam, oleastrum enim generat, hoc est sylvestrem oleam, et non oleam veram.*

"If, therefore, thou Roman and Gentile branch, which wert cut from the wild olive, art now, by the signal mercy of God, beyond the ordinary and commonly expected way, grafted into the true olive, the church of God; if thou, which neither naturally nor by human art canst be made to produce any good fruit, and, next to a miracle, to be made a true olive, art now by the benignity of God grafted into the proper olive; how much more shall the Jew, and natural branch, be grafted into its genuine and mother tree, wherein propinquity of nature is like, so readily and prosperously, to effect a coalition? And this more especially by the expressed way of insition or implantation, the olive being not successfully propagable by seed, nor at all by surculation."

. . . . .

34. "And therefore, Israel said, carry down the man a present, a little balm, a little honey, and myrrh,

[1] *Geoponic*, lib. x.

nuts, and almonds." [1] Now whether this, which Jacob sent, were the proper balsam extolled by human writers, you cannot but make some doubt, who find the Greek translation to be *ρησίνη*, that is, *resina*, and so may have some suspicion that it might be some pure distillation from the turpentine tree; which grows prosperously and plentifully in Judæa, and seems so understood by the Arabic; and was indeed esteemed by Theophrastus and Dioscorides the chiefest of resinous bodies, and the word *resina* emphatically used for it.

That the balsam plant hath grown and prospered in Judæa we believe without dispute. For the same is attested by Theophrastus, Pliny, Justinus, and many more. From the commendation that Galen affordeth of the balsam of Syria, and the story of Cleopatra, that she obtained some plants of balsam from Herod the Great to transplant into Egypt. But whether it was so anciently in Judæa as the time of Jacob; nay, whether this plant was here before the time of Solomon, that great collector of vegetable rarities, some doubt may be made from the account of Josephus, that the queen of Sheba, a part of Arabia, among presents unto Solomon brought some plants of the balsam tree, as one of the peculiar estimables of her country.

[1] Psalm civ. 17.

Whether this ever had its natural growth, or were an original native plant in Judæa, much more that it was peculiar unto that country, a greater doubt may arise: while we read in Pausanias, Strabo, and Diodorus, that it grows also in Arabia, and find in Theophrastus,[1] that it grew in two gardens about Jericho in Judæa. And more especially while we seriously consider that notable discourse between Abdella, Abdachim, and Alpinus, concluding the natural and original place of this singular plant to be in Arabia, about Mecha and Medina, where it still plentifully groweth, and mountains abound therein;[2] from whence it hath been carefully transplanted by the bashas of Grand Cairo, into the garden of Matarea: where, when it dies, it is repaired again from those parts of Arabia, from whence the Grand Signior yearly receiveth a present of balsam from the xeriff of Mecha, still called by the Arabians *balessan;* whence they believe arose the Greek appellation balsam. And since these balsam plants are not now to be found in Judæa, and though purposely cultivated, are often lost in Judæa, but everlastingly live, and naturally renew in Arabia, they probably concluded, that those of Judæa were foreign and transplanted from these parts.

[1] Lib. ix., cap. 6 [2] *Prosper Alpinus, de Balsamo.*

All which notwithstanding, since the same plant may grow naturally and spontaneously in several countries, and either from inward or outward causes be lost in one region, while it continueth and subsisteth in another, the balsam tree might possibly be a native of Judæa as well as of Arabia; which because *de facto* it cannot be clearly made out, the ancient expressions of Scripture become doubtful in this point. But since this plant hath not for a long time grown in Judæa, and still plentifully prospers in Arabia, that which now comes in precious parcels to us, and still is called the balsam of Judæa, many now surrender its name, and more properly be called the balsam of Arabia.

. . . . .

37. When 'tis said that Elias lay and slept under a juniper tree, some may wonder how that tree, which in our parts groweth but low and shrubby, should afford him shade and covering. But others know that there is a lesser and a larger kind of that vegetable; that it makes a tree in its proper soil and region. And may find in Pliny that in the temple of Diana Saguntina, in Spain, the rafters were made of juniper.

In that expression of David,[1] "Sharp arrows of the

[1] Psalm cxxix. 7.

mighty, with coals of juniper." Though juniper be left out in the last translation, yet may there be an emphatical sense from that word; since juniper abounds with a piercing oil, and makes a smart fire. And the rather, if that quality be half true, which Pliny affirmeth, that the coals of juniper raked up will keep a glowing fire for the space of a year. For so the expression will emphatically imply, not only the "smart burning but the lasting fire of their malice."

That passage of Job,[1] wherein he complains that poor and half-famished fellows despise him, is of greater difficulty; "For want and famine they were solitary, they cut up mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for meat." Wherein we might at first doubt the translation, not only from the Greek text, but the assertion of Dioscorides, who affirmeth that the roots of juniper are of a venomous quality. But Scaliger hath disproved the same from the practice of the African physicians, who use the decoction of juniper roots against the venereal disease. The Chaldee reads it *genista*, or some kind of broom, which will be also unusual and hard diet, except thereby we understand the *orobanche*, or broom rape, which groweth from the roots of broom; and which, according to

[1] Job xxx. 3, 4.

Dioscorides, men used to eat raw or boiled, in the manner of asparagus.

And, therefore, this expression doth highly declare the misery, poverty, and extremity, of the persons who were now mockers of him; they being so contemptible and necessitous, that they were fain to be content, not with a mean diet, but such as was no diet at all, the roots of trees, the roots of juniper, which none would make use of for food, but in the lowest necessity, and some degree of famishing.

. . . . .

41. While you read in Theophrastus or modern herbalists, a strict division of plants, into *arbor*, *frutex*, *suffrutex et herba*, you cannot but take notice of the Scriptural division at the creation, into tree and herb; and this may seem too narrow to comprehend the class of vegetables; which, notwithstanding, may be sufficient, and a plain and intelligible division thereof. And therefore, in this difficulty concerning the division of plants, the learned botanist, Cæsalpinus, thus concludeth, *clarius agemus si alterâ divisione neglecta, duo tantum plantarum genera substituamus, arborem scilicet, et herbam, conjungentes cum arboribus fructices, et cum herba suffrutices ; frutices* being the lesser trees, and *suffrutices* the larger, harder, and more solid herbs.

And this division into herb and tree may also suffice, if we take in that natural ground of the division of perfect plants, and such as grow from seeds. For plants, in their first production, do send forth two leaves adjoining to the seed; and then afterwards, do either produce two other leaves, and so successively before any stalk; and such go under the name of *πόα*, *βοτάνη* or herb; or else, after the two first leaves succeeded to the seed leaves, they send forth a stalk or rudiment of a stalk, before any other leaves, and such fall under the classes of *δένδρον* or tree. So that, in this natural division, there are but two grand differences, that is, tree and herb. The *frutex* and *suffrutex* have the way of production from the seed, and in other respects the *suffrutices* or *cremia*, have a middle and participating nature, and referable unto herbs.

42. "I have seen the ungodly in great power, and flourishing like a green bay tree." Both Scripture and human writers draw frequent illustrations from plants. Scribonius Largus illustrates the old cymbals from the *cotyledon palustris* or *umbilicus veneris*. Who would expect to find Aaron's mitre in any plant? Yet Josephus hath taken some pains to make out the same in the seminal knop of *hyoscyamus* or henbane. The Scripture

compares the figure of manna unto the seed of coriander. In Jeremy[1] we find the expression, "straight as a palm tree." And here the wicked in their flourishing state are likened unto a bay tree. Which, sufficiently answering the sense of the text, we are unwilling to exclude that noble plant from the honour of having its name in Scripture. Yet we cannot but observe, that the septuagint renders it cedars, and the vulgar accordingly, *vidi impium superexaltatum, et elevatum sicut cedros Libani;* and the translation of Tremellius mentions neither bay nor cedar; *sese explicantem tanquam arbor indigena virens;* which seems to have been followed by the last low Dutch translation. A private translation renders it like a green self-growing laurel. The high Dutch of Luther's Bible retains the word laurel; and so doth the old Saxon and Iceland translation; so also the French, Spanish, and Italian of Diodati: yet his notes acknowledge that some think it rather a cedar, and others any large tree in a prospering and natural soil.

But however these translations differ, the sense is allowable and obvious unto apprehension: when no particular plant is named, any proper to the sense may be supposed; where either cedar or laurel is mentioned,

[1] Jer. x 5.

if the preceding words (exalted and elevated) be used, they are more applicable unto the cedar; where the word (flourishing) is used, it is more agreeable unto the laurel, which, in its prosperity, abounds with pleasant flowers, whereas those of the cedar are very little, and scarce perceptible, answerable to the fir, pine, and other coniferous trees.

. . . . .

46. Though so many plants have their express names in Scripture, yet others are implied in some texts which are not explicitly mentioned. In the feast of tabernacles or booths, the law was this, "thou shalt take unto thee boughs of goodly trees, branches of the palm, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook." Now though the text descendeth not unto particulars of the goodly trees and thick trees; yet Maimonides will tell us that for a goodly tree they made use of the citron tree, which is fair and goodly to the eye, and well prospering in that country: and that for the thick trees they used the myrtle, which was no rare or infrequent plant among them. And though it groweth but low in our gardens, was not a little tree in those parts; in which plant also the leaves grew thick, and almost covered the stalk. And Curtius

Symphorianus[1] in his description of the exotic myrtle, makes it *folio densissimo senis in ordinem versibus*. The paschal lamb was to be eaten with bitterness or bitter herbs, not particularly set down in Scripture: but the Jewish writers declare, that they made use of succory, and wild lettuce, which herbs while some conceive they could not get down, as being very bitter, rough, and prickly, they may consider that the time of the passover was in the spring, when these herbs are young and tender, and consequently less unpleasant: besides, according to the Jewish custom, these herbs were dipped in the *charoseth*, or sauce made of raisins stamped with vinegar, and were also eaten with bread; and they had four cups of wine allowed unto them; and it was sufficient to take but a pittance of herbs, or the quantity of an olive.

. . . . .

48. The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field, but while men slept, his enemy came and sowed "tares," or as the Greek, *zizania*, "among the wheat."

Now, how to render *zizania*, and to what species of plants to confine it, there is no slender doubt; for the

[1] *De Hortis.*

word is not mentioned in other parts of Scripture, nor in any ancient Greek writer: it is not to be found in Aristotle, Theophrastus, or Dioscorides. Some Greek and Latin fathers have made use of the same, as also Suidas and Phavorinus; but probably they have all derived it from this text.

And, therefore, this obscurity might easily occasion such variety in translations and expositions. For some retain the word *zizania*, as the vulgar, that of Beza, of Junius, and also the Italian and the Spanish. The low Dutch renders it *oncruidt*, the German *oncraut*, or *herba mala*, the French *yvroye* or *lolium*, and the English *tares*.

Besides, this being conceived to be a Syriac word, it may still add unto the uncertainty of the sense. For though this gospel were first written in Hebrew or Syriac, yet it is not unquestionable whether the true original be any where extant. And that Syriac copy which we now have, is conceived to be of far later time than St. Matthew.

Expositors and annotators are also various. Hugo Grotius hath passed the word *zizania* without a note. Diodati, retaining the word *zizania*, conceives that it was some peculiar herb growing among the corn of those countries, and not known in our fields. But

Emanuel de Sa interprets it *plantas semini noxias*, and so accordingly some others.

Buxtorfius, in his *Rabbinical Lexicon*, gives divers interpretations, sometimes for degenerated corn, sometimes for the black seeds in wheat, but withal concludes, *an hæc sit eadem vox aut species cum zizaniâ apud evangelistam, quærant alii.* But lexicons and dictionaries by *zizania* do almost generally understand *lolium*, which we call darnel, and commonly confine the signification to that plant. Notwithstanding, since *lolium* had a known and received name in Greek, some may be apt to doubt why, if that plant were particularly intended, the proper Greek word was not used in the text. For Theophrastus[1] named *lolium* αἶρα, and hath often mentioned that plant; and in one place saith, that corn doth sometimes *loliescere* or degenerate into darnel. Dioscorides, who travelled over Judæa, gives it the same name, which is also to be found in Galen, Ætius, and Ægineta; and Pliny hath sometimes Latinized that word into *æra*.

Besides, *lolium* or darnel shows itself in the winter, growing up with the wheat; and Theophrastus observed, that it was no vernal plant, but came up in the winter; which will not well answer the ex-

[1] *Hist. Plant.*, lib. viii.

pression of the text, "And when the blade came up, and brought forth fruit," or gave evidence of its fruit, the *zizania* appeared. And if the husbandry of the ancients were agreeable unto ours, they would not have been so earnest to weed away the darnel; for our husbandmen do not commonly weed it in the field, but separate the seed after thrashing. And, therefore, Galen delivereth, that in an unseasonable year, and great scarcity of corn, when they neglected to separate the darnel, the bread proved generally unwholesome, and had evil effects on the head.

Our old and later translators render *zizania* tares, which name our English botanists give unto *aracus*, *cracca*, *vicia sylvestris*, calling them tares and strangling tares. And our husbandmen by tares understand some sorts of wild fitches, which grow amongst corn, and clasp unto it, according to the Latin etymology, *vicia à vinciendo*. Now in this uncertainty of the original, tares, as well as some others, may make out the sense, and be also more agreeable unto the circumstances of the parable. For they come up and appear what they are, when the blade of the corn is come up, and also the stalk and fruit discoverable. They have likewise little spreading roots, which may entangle or rob the good roots, and they have also tendrils and claspers,

which lay hold of what grows near them, and so can hardly be weeded without endangering the neighbouring corn.

However, if by *zizania* we understand *herbas segeti noxias*, or *vitia segetum*, as some expositors have done, and take the word in a more general sense, comprehending several weeds and vegetables offensive unto corn, according as the Greek word in the plural number may imply, and as the learned Laurenbergius[1] hath expressed, *runcare, quod apud nostrates weden dicitur, zizanias inutiles est evellere.* If, I say, it be thus taken, we shall not need to be definite, or confine unto one particular plant, from a word which may comprehend divers. And this may also prove a safer sense, in such obscurity of the original.

And, therefore, since in this parable the sower of the *zizania* is the devil, and the *zizania* wicked persons; if any from this larger acception will take in thistles, darnel, cockle, wild straggling fitches, bindweed, *tribulus*, restharrow, and other *vitia segetum;* he may, both from the natural and symbolical qualities of those vegetables, have plenty of matter to illustrate the variety of his mischiefs, and of the wicked of this world.

49. When 'tis said in Job, "Let thistles grow up

[1] *De Horti Culturâ.*

instead of wheat, and cockle instead of barley," the words are intelligible, the sense allowable and significant to this purpose: but whether the word cockle doth strictly conform unto the original, some doubt may be made from the different translations of it; for the vulgar renders it *spina*, Tremellius *vitia frugum*, and the Geneva *yvroye*, or darnel. Besides, whether cockle were common in the ancient agriculture of those parts, or what word they used for it, is of great uncertainty. For the elder botanical writers have made no mention thereof, and the moderns have given it the name of *pseudomelanthium nigellastrum*, *lychnoides segetum*, names not known unto antiquity. And, therefore, our translation hath warily set down "noisome weeds" in the margin.

OF GARLANDS AND CORONARY OR GARLAND PLANTS

Sir,[1]—The use of flowery crowns and garlands is of no slender antiquity, and higher than I conceive you apprehend it. For, besides the old Greeks and Romans, the Egyptians made use hereof; who, besides the bravery of their garlands, had little birds upon them to peck their heads and brows, and so to keep them [from] sleeping at their festival compotations. This practice also extended as far as India: for at the feast of the Indian king, it is peculiarly observed by Philostratus, that their custom was to wear garlands, and come crowned with them unto their feast.

The crowns and garlands of the ancients were either gestatory, such as they wore about their heads or necks; portatory, such as they carried at solemn festivals; pensile or suspensory, such as they hanged about the posts of their houses in honour of their gods, as Jupiter Thyræus or Limeneus; or else they were depository, such as they laid upon the graves and monuments of

[1] This letter was written to John Evelyn (see Introduction)

the dead. And these were made up after all ways of art, compactile, sutile, plectile; for which work there were σεφανοπλόκοι, or expert persons to contrive them after the best grace and propriety.

Though we yield not unto them in the beauty of flowery garlands, yet some of those of antiquity were larger than any we lately met with; for we find in Athenæus, that a myrtle crown, of one and twenty feet in compass, was solemnly carried about at the Hellotian feast in Corinth, together with the bones of Europa.

And garlands were surely of frequent use among them; for we read in Galen,[1] that when Hippocrates cured the great plague of Athens by fires kindled in and about the city: the fuel thereof consisted much of their garlands. And they must needs be very frequent and of common use, the ends thereof being many. For they were convivial, festival, sacrificial, nuptial, honorary, funebrial. We who propose unto ourselves the pleasures of two senses, and only single out such as are of beauty and good odour, cannot strictly confine ourselves unto imitation of them.

For, in their convivial garlands, they had respect

[1] *De Theriaca ad Pisonem.*

unto plants preventing drunkenness, or discussing the exhalations from wine; wherein, beside roses, taking in ivy, vervain, melilote, &c., they made use of divers of small beauty or good odour. The solemn festival garlands were made properly unto their gods, and accordingly contrived from plants sacred unto such deities; and their sacrificial ones were selected under such considerations. Their honorary crowns triumphal, ovary, civical, obsidional, had little of flowers in them: and their funebrial garlands had little of beauty in them besides roses, while they made them of myrtle, rosemary, *apium*, &c., under symbolical intimations; but our florid and purely ornamental garlands, delightful unto sight and smell, nor framed according to any mystical and symbolical considerations, are of more free election, and so may be made to excel those of the ancients: we having China, India, and a new world to supply us, beside the great distinction of flowers unknown unto antiquity, and the varieties thereof arising from art and nature.

But, beside vernal, æstival and autumnal, made of flowers, the ancients had also the hyemal garlands; contenting themselves at first with such as were made of horn dyed into several colours, and shaped into the

figure of flowers, and also of *æs coronarium* or *clincquant*, or brass thinly wrought out into leaves commonly known among us. But the curiosity of some emperors for such intents had roses brought from Egypt until they had found the art to produce late roses in Rome, and to make them grow in winter, as is delivered in that handsome epigram of Martial—

> At tu Romanæ jussus jam cedere brumæ
> Mitte tuas messes, accipe, Nile, rosas.

Some American nations, who do much excel in garlands, content not themselves only with flowers, but make elegant crowns of feathers, whereof they have some of greater radiancy and lustre than their flowers: and since there is an art to set into shapes, and curiously to work in choicest feathers, there could nothing answer the crowns made of the choicest feathers of some *tomineios* and sun birds.

The catalogue of coronary plants is not large in Theophrastus, Pliny, Pollux, or Athenæus: but we may find a good enlargement in the accounts of modern botanists; and additions may still be made by successive acquists of fair and specious plants, not yet translated from foreign regions, or little known unto our gardens; he that would be complete may take notice of these following:—

Flos Tigridis.
Flos Lyncis.
Pinea Indica Recchi, Talama Ouiedi.
Herba Paradisea.
Volubilis Mexicanus.
Narcissus Indicus Serpentarius.
Helichrysum Mexicanum.
Xicama.
Aquilegia novæ Hispaniæ Cacoxochitli Recchi.
Aristochæa Mexicana.
Camaratinga sive Caragunta quarta Pisonis.
Maracuia Granadilla.
Cambay sive Myrtus Americana.
Flos Auriculæ (Flor de la Oreia).
Floripendio novæ Hispaniæ.
Rosa Indica.
Zilium Indicum.
Fula Magori Garciæ.
Champe Garciæ Champacca Bontii.
Daullontas frutex odoratus seu Chamæmelum arborescens Bontii.
Beidelsar Alpini.
Sambuc.
Amberboi Turcarum.
Nuphar Ægyptium.

Lilionarcissus Indicus.
Bamma Ægyptiacum.
Hiucca Canadensis horti Farnesiani.
Bupthalmum novæ Hispaniæ Alepocapath.
Valeriana seu Chrysanthemum Americanum Acocotlis.
Flos Corvinus Coronarius Americanus.
Capolin Cerasus dulcis Indicus Floribus racemosis.
Asphodelus Americanus.
Syringa Lutea Americana.
Bulbus unifolius.
Moly latifolium Flore luteo.
Conyza Americana purpurea.
Salvia Cretica pomifera Bellonii.
Lausus Serrata Odora.
Ornithogalus Promontorii Bonæ Spei.
Fritillaria crassa Soldanica Promontorii Bonæ Spei.
Sigillum Solomonis Indicum.
Tulipa Promontorii Bonæ Spei.
Iris Uvaria.
Nopolxock sedum elegans novæ Hispaniæ.

More might be added unto this list;[1] and I have only taken the pains to give you a short specimen of

[1] "Which Sir Thomas sent me a Catalogue of from Norwich."—*Evelyn's MS. note.*

those, many more which you may find in respective authors, and which time and future industry may make no great strangers in England. The inhabitants of *nova Hispania*, and a great part of America, Mahometans, Indians, Chinese, are eminent promoters of these coronary and specious plants ; and the annual tribute of the king of Bisnaguer in India, arising out of odours and flowers, amounts unto many thousands of crowns.

Thus, in brief, of this matter. I am, &c.

. . . . .

OBSERVATIONS ON GRAFTING[1]

In the doctrine of all insitions, those are esteemed most successful which are practised under these rules:—

That there be some consent or similitude of parts and nature between the plants conjoined.

That insition be made between trees not of very different barks; nor very differing fruits or forms of fructification; nor of widely different ages.

That the scions or buds be taken from the south or east part of the tree.

That a rectitude and due position be observed; not to insert the south part of the scions unto the northern side of the stock, but according to the position of the scions upon his first matrix.

Now, though these rules be considerable in the usual and practised course of insitions, yet were it but reasonable for searching spirits to urge the operations of nature by conjoining plants of very different natures in parts, barks, lateness, and precocities, nor to rest in the experiments of hortensial plants in whom we chiefly

[1] Probably addressed to Evelyn.

intend the exaltation or variety of their fruit and flowers, but in all sorts of shrubs and trees applicable unto physic or mechanical uses, whereby we might alter their tempers, moderate or promote their virtues, exchange their softness, hardness, and colour, and so render them considerable beyond their known and trite employments.

To which intent curiosity may take some rule or hint from these or the like following, according to the various ways of propagation :—

Colutea upon anagris—arbor judæ upon anagris—cassia poetica upon cytisus—cytisus upon periclymenum rectum—woodbine upon jasmine—cystus upon rosemary —rosemary upon ivy—sage or rosemary upon cystus—myrtle upon gall or rhus myrtifolia—whortle-berry upon gall, heath, or myrtle—coccygeia upon alaternus —mezereon upon an almond—gooseberry and currants upon mezereon, barberry, or blackthorn—barberry upon a currant tree—bramble upon gooseberry or raspberry—yellow rose upon sweetbrier—phyllerea upon broom—broom upon furze—anonis lutea upon furze—holly upon box—bay upon holly—holly upon pyracantha—a fig upon chesnut—a fig upon mulberry—peach upon mulberry—mulberry upon buckthorn—walnut upon chesnut—savin upon juniper—vine upon oleaster, rose-

mary, ivy—an arbutus upon a fig—a peach upon a fig—white poplar upon black poplar—asp upon white poplar—wych elm upon common elm—hazel upon elm—sycamore upon wych elm—cinnamon rose upon hipberry—a whitethorn upon a blackthorn—hipberry upon a sloe, or skeye, or bullace—apricot upon a mulberry—arbutus upon a mulberry—cherry upon a peach—oak upon a chesnut—katherine peach upon a quince—a warden upon a quince—a chesnut upon a beech—a beech upon a chesnut—an hornbeam upon a beech—a maple upon an hornbeam—a sycamore upon a maple—a medlar upon a service tree—a sumack upon a quince or medlar—an hawthorn upon a service tree—a quicken tree upon an ash—an ash upon an asp—an oak upon an ilex—a poplar upon an elm—a black cherry tree upon a tilea or lime tree—tilea upon beech—alder upon birch or poplar—a filbert upon an almond—an almond upon a willow—a nux vesicaria upon an almond or pistachio—a cerasus avium upon a nux vesicaria—a cornelian upon a cherry tree—a cherry tree upon a cornelian—an hazel upon a willow or sallow—a lilac upon a sage tree—a syringa upon lilac or tree-mallow—a rose elder upon syringa—a water elder upon rose elder—buckthorn upon elder—frangula upon buckthorn—hirga sanguinea upon privet—phyllerea upon vitex—

vitex upon euonymus—euonymus upon viburnum—ruscus upon pyracantha—paleurus upon hawthorn—tamarisk upon birch—erica upon tamarisk—polemonium upon genista hispanica—genista hispanica upon colutea.

Nor are we to rest in the frustrated success of some single experiments, but to proceed in attempts in the most unlikely unto iterated and certain conclusions, and to pursue the way of ablactation or inarching. Whereby we might determine whether, according to the ancients, no fir, pine, or picea, would admit of any incision upon them; whether yew will hold society with none; whether walnut, mulberry, and cornel cannot be propagated by insition, or the fig and quince admit almost of any, with many others of doubtful truths in the propagations.

And while we seek for varieties in stocks and scions, we are not to admit the ready practice of the scion upon its own tree. Whereby, having a sufficient number of good plants, we may improve their fruits without translative conjunction, that is, by insition of the scion upon his own mother, whereby an handsome variety or melioration seldom faileth—we might be still advanced by iterated insitions in proper boughs and positions. Insition is also made not only with scions and buds, but seeds, by inserting them in cabbage

stalks, turnips, onions, &c., and also in ligneous plants.

Within a mile of this city of Norwich, an oak groweth upon the head of a pollard willow, taller than the stock, and about half a foot in diameter, probably by some acorn falling or fastening upon it. I could show you a branch of the same willow which shoots forth near the stock which beareth both willow and oak twigs and leaves upon it. In a meadow I use in Norwich, beset with willows and sallows, I have observed these plants to grow upon their heads; bylders,[1] currants, gooseberries, *cynocrambe*, or dog's mercury, barberries, bittersweet, elder, hawthorn.

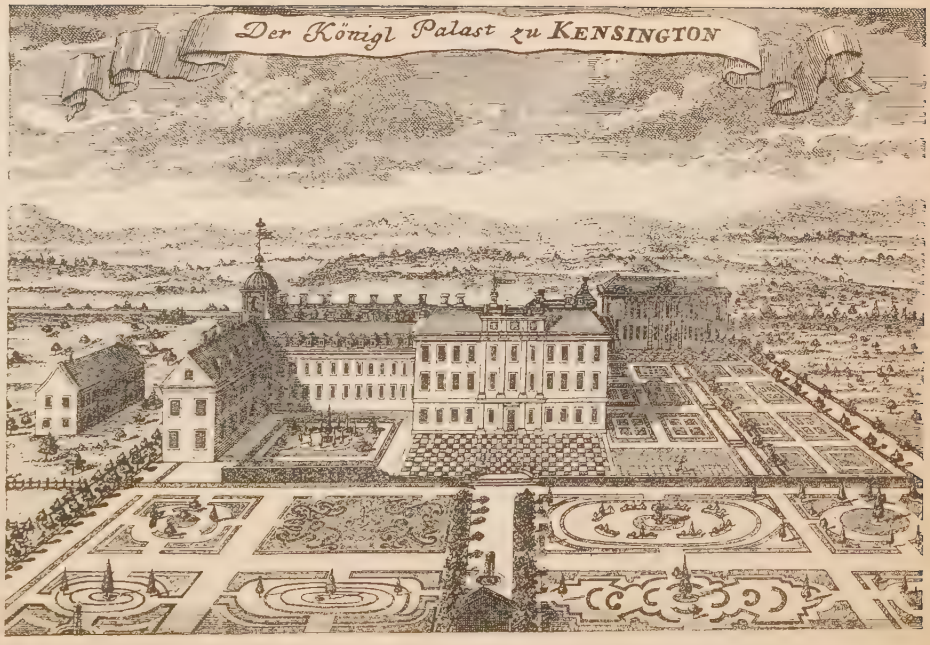
[1] Bilberry.

THE GARDEN
THE MOWER, AGAINST GARDENS

BY

ANDREW MARVELL

(1620–1678)



THE GARDENS OF KENSINGTON PALACE.

THE GARDEN

How vainly men themselves amaze,
To win the palm, the oak, or bayes;
And their uncessant labours see
Crown'd from some single herb or tree,
Whose short and narrow-vergèd shade
Does prudently their toyles upbraid;
While all the flow'rs and trees do close,
To weave the garlands of repose.

Fair Quiet, have I found thee here,
And Innocence, thy sister dear!
Mistaken long, I sought you then
In busie companies of men.
Your sacred plants, if here below,
Only among the plants will grow;
Society is all but rude
To this delicious solitude.

No white nor red was ever seen
So am'rous as this lovely green.
Fond lovers, cruel as their flame,
Cut in these trees their mistress' name:

Little, alas! they know or heed,
How far these beauties her's exceed!
Fair trees! wheres'ere your barkes I wound,
No name shall but your own be found.

When we have run our passions' heat,
Love hither makes his best retreat.
The gods, who mortal beauty chase,
Still in a tree did end their race;
Apollo hunted Daphne so,
Only that she might laurel grow;
And Pan did after Syrinx speed,
Not as a nymph, but for a reed.

What wond'rous life is this I lead!
Ripe apples drop about my head;
The luscious clusters of the vine
Upon my mouth do crush their wine;
The nectaren and curious peach,
Into my hands themselves do reach;
Stumbling on melons, as I pass,
Insnar'd with flow'rs, I fall on grass.

Meanwhile the mind, from pleasure less,
Withdraws into its happiness:

The mind, that ocean where each kind
Does straight its own resemblance find;
Yet it creates—transcending these—
Far other worlds and other seas;
Annihilating all that's made
To a green thought in a green shade.

Here at the fountain's sliding foot,
Or at some fruit-tree's mossy root,
Casting the bodie's vest aside,
My soul into the boughs does glide:
There, like a bird it sits, and sings,
Then whets and claps its silver wings;
And, till prepar'd for longer flight,
Waves in its plumes the various light.

Such was that happy garden-state,
While man there walk'd without a mate:
After a place so pure and sweet,
What other help could yet be meet!
But 'twas beyond a mortal's share
To wander solitary there:
Two paradises 'twere in one,
To live in paradise alone.

How well the skilful gardner drew
Of flow'rs and herbs this dial new ;
Where, from above, the milder sun
Does through a fragrant zodiack run,
And, as it works, th' industrious bee
Computes its time as well as we !
How could such sweet and wholsome hours
Be reckon'd but with herbs and flow'rs !

THE MOWER AGAINST GARDENS

Luxurious man, to bring his vice in use,
Did after him the world seduce,
And from the fields the flow'rs and plants allure,
Where Nature was most plain and pure.
He first enclos'd within the gardens square
A dead and standing pool of air;
And a more luscious earth for them did knead,
Which stupifi'd them while it fed.
The pink grew then as double as his mind;
The nutriment did change the kind
With strange perfumes he did the roses taint;
And flow'rs themselves were taught to paint.
The tulip, white, did for complexion seek,
And learn'd to interline its cheek;
Its onion-root they then so high did hold,
That one was for a meadow sold:
Another world was search'd through oceans new,
To find the marvel of Peru;
And yet these rarities might be allow'd
To man, that sov'raign thing and proud;
Had he not dealt between the bark and tree,
Forbidden mixtures there to see.

No plant now knew the stock from which it came;
He grafts upon the wild the tame:
That the uncertain and adult'rate fruit
Might put the palate in dispute.
His green seraglio has its eunuchs too,
Lest any tyrant him outdoe;
And in the cherry he does Nature vex,
To procreate without a sex.
'Tis all enforc'd, the fountain and the grot;
While the sweet fields do lye forgot,
Where willing Nature does to all dispence
A wild and fragrant innocence,
And fauns and fairyes do the meadows till
More by their presence then their skill.
Their statues, polish'd by some ancient hand,
May to adorn the gardens stand;
But, howso'ere the figures do excel,
The Gods themselves with us do dwell.

GARDEN LETTERS
PLAN OF A ROYAL GARDEN
GARDEN CUTTINGS FROM DIARY

BY

JOHN EVELYN

(1620–1706)

John Evelyn, Esq. to Dr. Browne.

Co. Garden, Lond. 28 Jan. [1657–8].

Honoured Sir,

By the mediation of that noble person, Mr. Paston, and an extraordinary humanity of your owne, I find I haue made acquisition of such a subsidiary, as nothing but his greate favour to me, and your communicable nature could haue procur'd me. It is now, therefore, that I dare promise myselfe successe in my attempt; and it is certaine that I will very justly owne your favours with all due acknowledgements, as the most obliging of all my correspondents. I perceive you haue seene the *proplasma* and delineation of my designe[1] which, to avoyde the infinite copying for

[1] A projected work bearing the title, *Elysium Brittannicum*, the plan of which is given in Upcott's *Miscellaneous Writings of J. Evelyn, Esq.* This work was intended to comprise forty distinct subjects, or chapters, disposed in three books. One of the chapters was "*Of the coronary garaen, &c.*," to which Sir Thomas Browne's tract, "*Of garlands, and coronary or garland plants*," was intended as a contribution. The work, however, was never completed; though parts of it remain among the MSS. at Wotton. One chapter only, "Of Sallets," was published in 1699, under the title, "*Acetaria; a Discourse of Sallets.*" (See post, p. 193.)

some of my curious friends, I was constrain'd to print; but it cannot be imagined that I should haue travell'd over so large a province (though but a garden) as yet, who set out not many moneths since, and can make it but my diversions at best, who haue so many other impediments besieging me, publique and personall, whereoff the long sicknesse of my *unicus*, my only sonn, now five moneths afflicted with a double quartan, and but five yeares old, is not one of the least; so that there is not danger your additionalls and favours to your servant should be prevented by the perfection of my worke, or if it were, that I should be so injurious to my owne fame or your civility, as not to beginn all anew, that I might take in such auxiliaries as you send me, and which I must esteeme as my best and most effectuall forces. Sir, I returne you a thousand acknowledgements for the papers which you transmitted me, and I will render you this account of my present vndertaking. The truth is, that which imported me to discourse on this subject after this sorte, was the many defects which I encounter'd in bookes and in gardens, wherein neither words nor cost had bin wanting, but judgement very much; and though I cannot boast of my science in this kind, as both vnbecoming my yeares and my small experience, yet I esteem'd it

pardonable at least, if in doing my endeauour to rectifie some mistakes, and advancing so vsefull and innocent a divertisement, I made some essay, and cast in my symbole with the rest. To this designe, if forraine observation may conduce, I might likewise hope to refine upon some particulars, especially concerning the ornaments of gardens, which I shall endeavor so to handle, as that they may become usefull and practicable, as well as magnificent, and that persons of all conditions and faculties, which delight in gardens, may therein encounter something for their owne advantage. The modell, which I perceive you haue seene, will aboundantly testifie my abhorrency of those painted and formal projections of our cockney gardens and plotts, which appeare like gardens of past-board and march-payne, and smell more of paynt then of flowers and verdure: our drift is a noble, princely, and universal Elysium, capable of all the amœnities that can naturally be introduced into gardens of pleasure, and such as may stand in competition with all the august designes and stories of this nature, either of antient or moderne tymes; yet so as to become vsefull and significant to the least pretences and faculties. We will endeauour to shew how the aire and genious of gardens operat vpon humane spirits towards virtue and

sanctitie, I meane in a remote, preparatory and instrumentall working. How caues, grotts, mounts, and irregular ornaments of gardens do contribute to contemplatiue and philosophicall enthusiasme; how *elysium*, *antrum*, *nemus*, *paradysus*, *hortus*, *lucus*, &c., signifie all of them *rem sacram et divinam;* for these expedients do influence the soule and spirits of man, and prepare them for converse with good angells; besides which, they contribute to the lesse abstracted pleasures, phylosophy naturall and longevitie: and I would have not onely the elogies and effigie of the antient and famous garden heroes, but a society of the *paradisi cultores*, persons of antient simplicity, Paradisean and Hortulan saints, to be a society of learned and ingenuous men, such as Dr. Browne, by whome we might hope to redeeme the tyme that has bin lost, in pursuing *Vulgar Errours*, and still propagating them, as so many bold men do yet presume to do. Were it to be hoped, *inter hos armorum strepitus*, and in so generall a catalysis of integrity, interruption of peace and propriety, the hortulane pleasure, these innocent, pure, and vsefull diversions might enjoy the least encouragement, whilst brutish and ambitious persons seeke themselues in the ruines of our miserable yet dearest country, *quis talia fando—?*—But, sir, I will not importune you with

these matters, nor shall they be able to make me to desist from my designe, so long as you reanimate my languishings, and pardon my imperfections. I greately thanke you for your discourses, and the acoustic diagramme, &c. I shall be a faithfull reporter of your favours to me. In my philosophico-medicall garden you can impart to me extraordinary assistances as likewise in my coronary chapter, and that of transmutations, c. 1. lib. 3. Norwich is a place, I understand, which is very much addicted to the flowry part; and what indeede may I not promise myselfe from your ingenuity, science, and candor? And now to shew you how farr I am aduanced in my worke, though I haue drawne it in loose sheetes, almost euery chapter rudely, yet I cannot say to haue finished any thing tollerably farther than chapter xi. lib. 2, and those which are so completed are yet so written that I can at pleasure inserte whatsoeuer shall come to hand to obelize, correct, improve and adorne it. That chapt. of the history of gardens being the 7th of the last booke, is in a manner finished by itselfe, and, if it be not ouer tedious, I think it will extreamely gratifie the reader: for I do comprehend them as vniversally as the chapter will beare it, and yet am as particular in the descriptions as is possible,

because I not onely pretend them for pompous and ostentatiue examples, but would render them usefull to our trauellers which shall goe abroad, and where I haue obserued so many particularities as, happly, others descend not to. If you permitt me to transcribe you an imperfect summ of the heads, it is to let you see how farr we correspond (as by your excellent papers I collect) and to engage your assistance in suppliing my omissions; you will pardon the defects in the synchronismes, because they are not yet exactly marshalled, and of my desultory scribbling.

CHAP. VII., LIB. 3.

Paradise, Elysian fields, Hesperides, Horti Adonidis, Alcinoi, Semyramis, Salomon's. The pensile gardens in Babylon, of Nabucodonosor, of Cyrus, the gardens of Panchaia, the Sabean in Arabia Felix. The Egyptian gardens out of Athenæus, the Villa Laura neere Alexandria, the gardens of Adominus, the garden at Samos, Democritus's garden, Epicurus's at Athens, *hortorum ille magister*, as Pliny calls him. That of Nysa described by Diodorus Siculus; Masinissa's, Lysander's, the garden of Laërtes, father of Ulysses, ex Homero. Theophrastus's, Mithridates' gardens; Alexandrus's garden at Sydon, Hieron's Nautilus

gardens out of Athenæus; the Indian king's garden out of Ælian; and many others, which are in my scattered adversaria, not yet inserted into this chapter.

Amongst the antient Romans.—Numa's garden, Tarquin's, Scipio Africanus's, Antoninus Pius's, Dioclesian's, Mæcenas's, Martial's gardens; the Tarentine garden, Cicero's garden at Tusculum, Formia, Cuma; the Laurentine garden of Pliny junior, Cato, at Sabinus, Ælius Spartianus's garden, the elder Gordian's, Horti Cassipedis, Drusi, Dolabella's garden, Galienus's, Seneca's, Nero's, the Horti Lamiani, Agrippina's, the Esquiline, Pompey's, Luculla's most costly gardens, &c.

More moderne and at present.—Clement the 8th's garden; the Medicean, Mathæo's garden, Cardinal Pio's; Farnesian, Lodovisian, Burghesean, Aldobrandino's, Barberini's, the Belvedere, Montalta's, Bossius's, Justiniane's, the Quirinal gardens, Cornelius's, Mazarini's, &c.

In other parts of Italy.—Ulmarini's at Vacenza, Count Giusti's at Verona, Mondragone, Frescati, D'Este's at Tivoli. The gardens of the Palazzo de Pitti in Florence; Poggio, Imperiale, Pratoline, Hieronymo del Negro's pensile garden in Genoa, principe d'Oria's garden, the Marquesi Devico's at Naples, the old gardens at Baiæ, Fred. Duke of Ur-

bine's garden, the gardens at Pisa, at Padoa, at Capraroula, at St. Michael in Bosco, in Bolognia; the gardens about Lago di Como, Signior Sfondrati's, &c.

In Spaine.—The incomparable garden of Aranxues, Garicius's garden at Toledo, &c.

In France.—Duke of Orleans at Paris, Luxemburg, Thuilleries, Palais Cardinal, Bellevue, Morines, Jard. Royal, &c.

In other parts of France.—The garden of Froment, of Fontaine Beleau, of the Chasteau de Fresnes, Ruel, Richelieu, Couranet, Cauigny, Hubert, Depont in Champagne, the most sumptuous Rincy, Nanteuile, Maisons, Medon, Dampien, St. Germain en Lay, Rosny, St. Cloe, Liancourt in Picardy, Isslings at Essonne, Pidaux in Poictiers. At Anet, Valeri, Folembourg, Villiers, Gaillon, Montpellier, Beugensor, of Mons. Piereskius. In Loraine, at Nancy, the Jesuites at Liege, and many others.

In Flanders.—The gardens of the Hofft in Bruxelles, Oroenendael's neere it, Risewick in Holland. The court at the Hague, the garden at Leyden, Pretor Hundius's garden at Amsterdam.

In Germany.—The Emperor's garden at Vienna, at Salisburgh; the medicinall at Heidelburg, Caterus's at Basil, Camerarius's garden of Horimburg, Scholtzius's

at Vratislauia, at Bonne neere Collen, the elector's there: Christina's garden in Sweden made lately by Mollet; the garden at Cracovia, Warsovia, Grogning. The elector's garden at Heidelburg, Tico Brache's rare gardens at Vraneburge, the garden at Copenhagen. Tho. Duke of Holstein's garden, &c.

In Turkey, the East, and other parts.—The grand Signor's in the Serraglio, the garden at Tunis, and old Carthage; the garden at Cairo, at Fez, the pensal garden at Pequin in China, also at Timplan and Porassen; St. Thomas's garden in the island neere M. Hecla, perpetually verdant. In Persia the garden at Ispahan; the garden of Tzurbugh; the Chan's garden in Schamachie neere the Caspian sea, of Ardebil, and the city of Cassuin or Arsacia; the garden lately made at Suratt in the East Indias by the great Mogoll's daughter, &c.

In America.—Montezuma's floating garden, and others in Mexico. The King of Azcapuzulco's, the garden of Cusco; the garden in Nova Hispania. Count Maurice's rare garden at Boavesta in Brasile.

In England.—Wilton, Dodington, Spensherst, Sion, Hatfield, Lord Brook's, Oxford, Kirby, Howard's, Durden's, my elder brother George Evelyn's in Surry, far surpassing any else in England, it may be

my owne poore garden may for its kind, perpetually greene, not be vnworthy mentioning.

The gardens mentioned in Scripture, &c.

Miraculous and extraordinary gardens found upon huge fishes' backs, men over growne with flowers, &c.

Romantique and poeticall gardens out of Sidney, Spencer, Achilles Statius, Homer, Poliphele, &c. All these I have already described, some briefly, some at large according to their dignity and merite.

But this paper, and my reverence to your greate patience, minds me of a conclusion.

Worthy, sir,

I am your most humble and most obliged servant,

J. EUELYN

To the Earle of SANDWICH, Ambassador Extraordinary in the Court of Spaine, at Madrid.

My Lord,

I am plainely astonish'd at your bounty to me, and I am in paine for words to expresse the sense I have of this greate obligation.[1]

[1] Upon his communicating particulars of Horticultural matters in Spain.

And as I have ben exceedingly affected with the Descriptions, so have I ben greately instructed in the other particulars your Lordship mentions, and especialy rejoice that your Excellency has taken care to have the draughts of the Places, Fountaines, & Engines for the Irrigation & refreshing their plantations, which may be of singular use to us in England. And I question not but your Excellency brings with you a collection of Seedes; such especially as we may not have com'only in our Country. By your Lordship's description, the *Encina* should be the *Ilex major aculeata*, a sucker whereoff yet remaines in his Majesties Privie-Gardens at White Hall, next the dore that is opposite to the Tennis Court. I mention it the rather, because it certainly might be propagated with us to good purpose, for the father of this small tree I remember of a goodly stature; so as it yearely produc'd ripe Acorns; though Clusius, when he was in England, believed it to be barren: & happily, it had borne none in his tyme. I have sown both the Acorns of the tree, and the Cork with successe, though I have now but few of them remaining, through the negligence of my Gardiner; for they require care at the first raising, 'till they are accostom'd to the cold, and then no rigour impeaches them. What your Excellency meanes by the *Bama de*

Joseph, I do not comprehend; but the *Planta Aloïs*, which is a monstrous kind of *Sedum*, will like it endure no wett in Winter, but certainely rotts if but a drop or two fall on it, whereas in Summer you cannot give it drink enough. I perceive their culture of choyce & tender Plants differs little from ours in England, and as it has ben publish'd by me in my *Calendarium Hortense*, which is now the third time reprinting. Stoves absolutely destroy our Conservatories; but if they could be lin'd with cork, I believe it would better secure them from the cold & moisture of the walls, than either matrasses, or reedes with which we co'monly invest them. I thinke I was the first that ever planted Spanish Cardôns in our country for any culinerie use, as your Excellency has taught the blanching; but I know not whether they serve themselves in Spaine with the purple beards of the Thistle, when it is in flower, for the curdling of Milk, which it performs much better than Reinet, and is far sweeter in the Dairy than that liquor, which is apt to putrifie.

Your Excellency has rightly conjectur'd of the Pome-Granad: I have allways kept it expos'd, and the severest of our Winters dos it no prejudice; they will flower plentifully, but beare no fruit with us, either kept in cases & in the repository, or set in the open

ayre; at least very trifling, with the greatest industry of stoves & other artifices.

We have Aspargus growing wild both in Lincolnshire & in other places; but your Lordship observes, they are small & bitter, & not comparable to the cultivated.

The red Pepper, I suppose, is what we call Ginny-Peper, of which I have rais'd many plants, whose pods resemble in colour the most oriental & polish'd corall: a very little will set the throat in such a flame, as has ben sometimes deadly, and therefore to be sparingly us'd in sauces.

I hope your Lordship will furnish your selfe with Melon seedes, because they will last good almost 20 years; & so will all the sorts of Garavances, Calaburos, & Gourds (whatever Herrera affirme) which may be for divers œconomical uses.

The Spanish Onion-seede is of all other the most excellent: and yet I am not certaine, whether that which we have out of Flanders & St. Omers, be all the Spanish seede which we know of. My Lady Clarendon (when living) was wont to furnish me with seede that produc'd me prodigious cropps.

Is it not possible for your Excellency to bring over some of those Quince and Cherry-trees, which your

Lordship so celebrates? I suppose they might be secur'd in barrells or pack'd up, as they transport other rarities from far countries. But, my Ld: I detaine your Excellency too long in these repetitions, & forget that I am all this while doing injury to the publiq, by suspending you a moment from matters of a higher orb, the Interest of States, & reconciling of Kingdomes: And I should think so of another, did I not know withall, how universal your comprehensions are, & how qualified to support it. I remain, my Lord,

Sayes-Court, 21 Aug. 1668. Your &c.

To Lady Sunderland.

Deptford 4 Aug. 1690.

As for the 'Kalendar' your Ladyship mentions, whatever assistance it may be to some Novice Gardiner, sure I am his Lordship will find nothing in it worth his notice but an old inclination to an innocent diversion, & the acceptance it found with my deare (and while he liv'd) worthy friend Mr. Cowley, upon whose reputation only it has survived seaven impressions, & is now entering on the eighth with some considerable improvements, more agreeable to the present curiosity. 'Tis

now, Madame, almost fourty yeares since first I writ it, when Horticulture was not much advanc'd in England, and neere thirty since first 'twas publish'd, which consideration will I hope excuse its many defects. If in the meane time it deserve the name of no un-usefull trifle, 'tis all it is capable of.

When many yeares ago I came from rambling abroad, observ'd a little there, & a great deal more since I came home than gave me much satisfaction, & (as events have prov'd) scarce worth one's pursuite, I cast about how I should employ the time which hangs on most young men's hands, to the best advantage; and when books & severer studies grew tedious, & other impertinence would be pressing, by what innocent diversions I might sometimes relieve my selfe without complyance to recreations I tooke no felicity in, because they did not contribute to any improvement of the mind. This set me upon Planting of Trees, & brought forth my 'Sylva,' which booke, infinitely beyond my expectations, is now also calling for a fourth impression, and has ben the occasion of propagating many Millions of usefull timber-trees thro'out this Nation, as I may justifie (without im'odesty) from the many letters of acknowledgment receiv'd from gentlemen of the first quality, and others altogether strangers to me. His late

Majesty Cha. the 2d. was sometimes graciously pleas'd to take notice of it to me, & that I had by that booke alone incited a world of planters to repaire their broken estates and woodes, which the greedy Rebells had wasted & made such havock of. Upon this encouragement I was once speaking to a mighty man, then in despotic power, to mention the greate inclination I had to serve his Majesty in a little office then newly vacant (the salary I think hardly £300) whose province was to inspect the Timber-trees in his Majesties Forests, &c. and take care of their culture and improvement; but this was conferr'd upon another, who, I believe had seldom ben out of the smoke of London, where tho' there was a greate deale of timber, there were not many trees. I confesse I had an inclination to the imployment upon a publique account as well as its being suitable to my rural genius, borne as I was at *Wotton*, among the Woods.

Soon after this, happen'd the direfull Conflagration of this Citty, when taking notice of our want of Bookes of Architecture in the English tongue, I published those most usefull directions of Ten of the best Authors on that subject, whose works were very rarely to be had, all of them written in French, Latine, or Italian, & so not intelligible to our mechanics. What the

fruite of that labour & cost has ben (for the sculptures which are elegant were very chargeable) the greate improvement of our workmen, & several impressions of the copy since, will best testifie.

In this method I thought properly to begin with planting Trees, because they would require time for growth and be advancing to delight & shade at least, & were therefore by no meanes to be neglected & deferr'd, while building might be raised and finish'd in a sum'r or two if the owner pleas'd.

Thus, Madame, I endeavoured to do my countrymen some little service, in as natural an order as I could for the improving & adorning their estates & dwellings, &, if possible, make them in love with these usefull & innocent pleasures, in exchange of a wastfull & ignoble sloth which I had observ'd so universally corrupted an ingenious education.

To these I likewise added my little History of Chalcography, a treatise of the perfection of Paynting, & of erecting Libraries, . . . Medals, with some other intermesses which might divert within dores, as well as altogether without.

To Mr. Wotton.

Worthy Sir,

I should exceedingly mistake the person, and my owne discernment, could I believe Mr. Wotton stood in the least neede of my assistance; but such an expression of your's to one who so well knows his own imperfections as I do mine, ought to be taken for a reproche; since I am sure it cannot proceede from your judgment. But forgiving this fault, I most heartily thank you for your animadversion on *Sylva*; which, tho' I frequently find it so written for ξυλεια & υλη, wood, timber, wild & forest trees, yet indeede I think it more properly belongs to a promiscuous casting of severall things together, & as I think my Lord Bacon has us'd it in his "Natural History," without much reguard to method. *Deleatur*, therefore, wherever you meete it.

Concerning the Gardning & Husbandry of the Antients, which is your inquirie (especialy of the first), that it had certainely nothing approaching the elegancy of the present age, Rapinus (whom I send you) will aboundantly satisfie you. The discourse you will find at the end of Hortorum, lib. 4°. capp. 6. 7. What

they cal'd their Gardens were onely spacious plots of ground planted with platans & other shady trees in walks, & built about with Porticos, Xisti, & noble ranges of pillars, adorn'd with Statues, Fountaines, Piscariæ, Aviaries, &c. But for the flowry parterre, beds of Tulips, Carnations, Auricula, Tuberose, Jonquills, Ranunculas, & other of our rare Coronaries, we heare nothing of, nor that they had such a store & variety of Exotics, Orangeries, Myrtils, & other curious Greenes; nor do I believe they had their Orchards in such perfection, nor by far our furniture for the Kitchen. Pliny indeede enumerates a world of vulgar plants & olitories, but they fall infinitely short of our Physic gardens, books and herbals, every day augmented by our sedulous Botanists, & brought to us from all the quarters of the world. And as for their Husbandry & more rural skill, of which the same author has written so many books in his Nat. History, especial lib. 17. 18. &c. you'l soone be judge what it was. They tooke great care indeede of their Vines and Olives, stercorations, ingraftings, & were diligent in observing seasons, the course of the stars, &c. and doubtlesse were very industrious; but when you shall have read over Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladio, with the Greek Geoponics, I do not think you will have cause to

prefer them before the modern agriculture, so exceedingly of late improv'd, for which you may consult & compare our old Tusser, Markham, the *Maison Rustic*, Hartlib, Walter Blith, the Philosophical Transactions, & other books, which you know better than my selfe.

I have turn'd down the page, where poore Palissy begins his persisting search. If you can suffer his prolix style, you will now & then light on things not to be despised. With him I send you a short Treatise concerning *Metals*, of Sir Hugh Platts, which perhaps you have not seene. I am sorry I have no more of those subjects here, having left the rest in my library at Deptford, & know not how to get them hither till I get thither.

Sir, I am in no hast for the returne of these, if they may be serviceable to you, but in no little paine for the trouble your civility to mine puts one, who knows so much better how to employ his time, than to mind the impertinence of, Sir, your &c.

Wotton, 28 Oct. 1696.

THE

PLAN

OF A

ROYAL GARDEN:

Describing, and Shewing the *Amplitude*, and *Extent* of that part of *Georgicks*, which belongs to *Horticulture*;

In Three Books

BOOK I

Chap. I. Of *Principles* and *Elements* in general.

Chap. II. Of the four (vulgarly reputed) Elements; *Fire*, *Air*, *Water*, *Earth*.

Chap. III. Of the Celestial *Influences*, and particularly of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and of the *Climates*.

Chap. IV. Of the Four *Annual Seasons*.

Chap. V. Of the Natural *Mould* and *Soil* of a Garden.

Chap. VI. Of *Composts*, and *Stercoration*, *Repastination*, *Dressing* and *Stirring* the *Earth* and *Mould* of a Garden.

BOOK II

Chap. I. A Garden *Deriv'd* and *Defin'd*; its *Dignity*, *Distinction*, and *Sorts*.

Chap. II. Of a *Gardiner*, how to be *qualify'd*, *regarded* and *rewarded*; his *Habitation*, *Cloathing*, *Diet*, Under-*Workmen* and *Assistants*.

Chap. III. Of the *Instruments* belonging to a Gardiner; their various *Uses* and *Machanical* Powers.

Chap. IV. Of the *Terms* us'd, and affected by Gardiners.

Chap. V. Of *Enclosing*, *Fencing*, *Platting*, and disposing of the Ground; and of *Terraces*, *Walks*, *Allies*, *Malls*, *Bowling-Greens*, &c.

Chap. VI. Of a *Seminary*, *Nurseries*; and of Propagating *Trees*, *Plants* and *Flowers*, *Planting* and *Transplanting*, &c.

Chap. VII. Of *Knots*, *Parterres*, *Compartiments*, *Borders*, *Banks* and *Embossments*.

Chap. VIII. Of *Groves*, *Labyrinths*, *Dedals*, *Cabinets*, *Cradles*, *Close-Walks*, *Galleries*, *Pavilions*, *Portico's*, *Lanterns*, and other *Relievo's*; of *Topiary* and *Hortulan Architecture*.

Chap. IX. Of *Fountains*, *Ietto's*, *Cascades*, *Rivulets*, *Piscina's*, *Canals*, *Baths*, and other Natural, and Artificial *Waterworks*.

Chap. X. Of *Rocks*, *Grotts*, *Cryptæ*, *Mounts*, *Precipices*, *Ventiducts*, *Conservatories*, of *Ice* and *Snow*, and other Hortulan Refreshments.

Chap. XI. Of *Statues*, *Busts*, *Obelisks*, *Columns*, *Inscriptions*, *Dials*, *Vasa's*, *Perspectives*, *Paintings*, and other Ornaments.

Chap. XII. Of *Gazon-Theatres*, *Amphitheatres*, Artificial *Echo's*, *Automata* and *Hydraulic Musick*.

Chap. XIII. Of *Aviaries*, *Apiaries*, *Vivaries*, *Insects*, &c.

Chap. XIV. Of *Verdures*, *Perennial Greens*, and *Perpetual Springs*.

Chap. XV. Of *Orangeries*, *Oporotheca's*, *Hybernacula*, *Stoves*, and Conservatories of Tender *Plants* and *Fruits*, and how to order them.

Chap. XVI. Of the *Coronary* Garden : *Flowers* and *Rare Plants*, how they are to be *Raised*, *Governed* and *Improved* ; and how the Gardiner is to keep his *Register*.

Chap. XVII. Of the *Philosophical Medical* Garden.

Chap. XVIII. Of *Stupendous* and *Wonderful Plants*.

Chap. XIX. Of the *Hort-Yard* and *Potagere;* and what *Fruit-Trees*, *Olitory* and *Esculent Plants*, may be admitted into a Garden of Pleasure.

Chap. XX. Of *Sallets*.

Chap. XXI. Of a *Vineyard*, and Directions concerning the making of *Wine* and other *Vinous* Liquors, and of *Teas*.

Chap. XXII. Of *Watering*, *Pruning*, *Plashing*, *Pallisading*, *Nailing*, *Clipping*, *Mowing*, *Rowling*, *Weeding*, *Cleansing*, &c.

Chap. XXIII. Of the *Enemies* and *Infirmities* to which Gardens are obnoxious, together with the *Remedies*.

Chap. XXIV. Of the Gardiner's *Almanack* or *Kalendarium Hortense*, directing what he is to do Monthly, and what *Fruits* and *Flowers* are in prime.

BOOK III

Chap. I. Of *Conserving*, *Properating*, *Retarding*, *Multiplying*, *Transmuting*, and Altering the *Species*, *Forms* and (reputed) *Substantial Qualities* of *Plants*, *Fruits* and *Flowers*.

Chap. II. Of the Hortulan *Elaboratory;* and of *distilling* and *extracting* of *Waters*, *Spirits*, *Essences*, *Salts*, *Colours*, Resuscitation of *Plants*, with other rare Experiments, and an Account of their *Virtues*.

Chap. III. Of composing the *Hortus Hyemalis*, and making Books, of *Natural*, *Arid Plants* and *Flowers*, with several Ways of Preserving them in their *Beauty*.

Chap. IV. Of *Painting* of Flowers, Flowers *enamell'd*, *Silk*, *Callico's*, *Paper*, *Wax*, *Gums*, *Pasts*, *Horns*, *Glass*, *Shells*, *Feathers*, *Moss*, *Pietra Comessa*, *Inlayings*, *Embroyderies*, *Carvings*, and other Artificial Representations of them.

Chap. V. Of *Crowns*, *Chaplets*, *Garlands*, *Festoons*, *Encarpa*, *Flower-Pots*, *Nosegays*, *Poesies*, *Deckings*, and other Flowery *Pomps*.

Chap. VI. Of *Hortulan Laws* and *Privileges*.

Chap. VII. Of the *Hortulan Study*, and of a *Library*, *Authors* and *Books* assistant to it.

Chap. VIII. Of *Hortulan Entertainments*, *Natural*, *Divine*, *Moral*, and *Political;* with divers *Historical* Passages, and Solemnities, to shew the *Riches*, *Beauty*, *Wonder*, *Plenty*, *Delight*, and Universal Use of Gardens.

Chap. IX. Of Garden *Burial.*

Chap. X. Of *Paradise*, and of the most *Famous Gardens* in the World, *Ancient* and *Modern.*

Chap. XI. The Description of a *Villa.*

Chap. XII. The *Corollary* and *Conclusion.*

——*Laudato ingentia rura,*
Exiguum colito.——

GARDEN CUTTINGS FROM EVELYN'S DIARY

Wotton, the mansion house of my father, left him by my grandfather, (now my eldest brother's) is situated in the most Southern part of the Shire, and tho' in a vally, yet really upon part of Lyth Hill, one of the most eminent (993 feet) in England for the prodigious prospect to be seen from its summit, tho' by few observed. From it may be discern'd 12 or 13 Counties, with part of the Sea on the Coast of Sussex, in a serene day; the house large and ancient, suitable to those hospitable times, and so sweetly environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgement of Strangers as well as Englishmen it may be compared to one of the most pleasant Seates in the Nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous: it has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water, in abundance.

The distance from London little more than 20 miles (nearly 26 miles) and yet so securely placed as

if it were 100; three miles from Dorking, which serves it abundantly with provisions as well of land as sea; 8 from Gilford, 14 from Kingston. I will say nothing of the ayre, because the præeminence is universally given to Surrey, the soil being dry and sandy; but I should speake much of the gardens, fountaines, and groves, that adorne it; were they not as generaly knowne to be amongst the most natural, and (til this later and universal luxury of the whole nation, since abounding in such expenses) the most magnificent that England afforded, and which indeede gave one of the first examples to that elegancy since so much in vogue and follow'd in the managing of their waters, and other ornaments of that nature. Let me add, the contiguity of 7 Mannors, the patronage of the livings about it, and, what is none of the least advantages, a good neighbourhood. All which conspire to render it fit for the present possessor, my worthy brother, and his noble lady, whose constant liberality give them title both to the place and the affections of all that know them. Thus, with the poet,

> Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos
> Ducit et immemores non sinit esse sui.

. . . . .

19 Aug., 1641. We visited the *Haff* or Prince's

Court at the Hague, with the adjoining gardens, which were full of ornament, close-walks, statues, marbles, grotts, fountains, and artificiall musiq, &c.

. . . . .

But there was nothing about this Citty which more ravished me than those delicious shades and walkes of stately trees, which render the fortified workes of the towne one of the sweetest places in Europ; nor did I ever observe a more quiet, cleane, elegantly built, and civil place, then this magnificent and famous Citty of Antwerp.

. . . . .

Brussels. By an accident we could not see the Library. There is a faire terrace which looks to the Vine-yard, in which, on pedestalls, are fix'd the statues of all the Spanish Kings of the House of Austria. The opposite walls are paynted by Rubens, being an history of the late tumults in Belgia; in the last piece the Arch-Dutchesse shutts a greate payre of gates upon Mars, who is coming out of hell, arm'd, and in a menacing posture. On another, the Infanta is seen taking leave of Don Philip.

From hence we walked into the Parke, which for

being intirely within the walls of the Citty is particularly remarkable; nor is it less pleasant than if in the most solitary recesses, so naturally is it furnish'd with whatever may render it agreeable, melancholy, and country-like. Here is a stately heronry, divers springs of water, artificial cascades, rocks, grotts, one whereof is composed of the extravagant rootes of trees cunningly built and hung together. In this Parke are both fallow and red deare.

From hence we were led into the Manege, and out of that into a most sweete and delicious garden, where was another grott, of more neate and costly materials, full of noble statues, and entertaining us with artificial musiq; but the hedge of water, in forme of lattice-worke, which the fontanier caused to ascend out of the earth by degrees, exceedingly pleased and surpris'd me, for thus with a pervious wall, or rather a palisad hedge, of water, was the whole parterre environ'd.

There is likewise a faire Aviary, and in the court next it are kept divers sorts of animals, rare & exotic fowle, as eagles, cranes, storks, bustards, pheasants of several kinds, a duck having 4 wings, &c. In another division of the same close, are rabbits of an almost perfect yellow colour.

. . . . .

Paris. 8 Feb., 1644. I took coach and went to see the famous Jardine Royale, which is an enclosure walled in, consisting of all varieties of ground for planting and culture of medical simples. It is well chosen, having in it hills, meadows, wood and upland, naturall and artificial, and is richly stor'd with exotic plants. In the middle of the Parterre is a faire fountaine. There is a very fine house, chapel, laboratory, orangery, & other accommodations for the President, who is allways one of the King's cheife Physitians.

From hence we went to the other side of the towne, and to some distance from it, to the Bois de Vincennes, going by the Bastille, which is the Fortresse Tower and Magazine of this great Citty. It is very spacious within, and there the Grand Master of the Artillery has his house, with faire gardens and walkes.

. . . . .

In another more privat garden (in the Louvre) towards the Queene's apartment is a walke or cloyster under arches, whose terrace is paved with stones of a greate breadth; it looks towards the river, and has a pleasant aviary, fountaine, stately cypresses, &c. On the river are seene a prodigious number of barges and boates of great length, full of haye, corne, wood, wine,

&c. Under the long galliery dwell goldsmiths, paynters, statuaries, and architects, who being the most famous for their art in Christendom, have stipends allowed them by the King. We went into that of Monsieur Saracin, who was moulding for an image of a Madona to be cast in gold, of a greate size, to be sent by the Queene Regent to Lauretto, as an offering for the birth of the Dauphine, now the young King of France.

I finish'd this day with a walke in the greate garden of the Thuilleries, which is rarely contrived for privacy, shade, or company, by groves, plantations of tall trees, especially that in the middle, being of elmes, another of mulberys. There is a labyrinth of cypresse, noble hedges of pomegranates, fountaines, fishponds, and an aviary. There is an artificial echo, redoubling the words distinctly, and it is never without some faire nymph singing to it. Standing at one of the focus's, which is under a tree, or little cabinet of hedges, the voice seems to descend from the clouds; at another as if it was under-ground. This being at the bottom of the garden, we were let into another, which being kept with all imaginable accuratenesse as to the orangery, precious shrubes, and rare fruites, seem'd a paradise. From a tarrace in this place we saw so many coaches, as one would hardly think could be maintained in the

whole Citty, going, late as it was in the year, towards the Course, which is a place adjoyning, of neere an English mile long, planted with 4 rows of trees, making a large circle in the middle. This Course is walled about, neere breast high, with squar'd freestone, and has a stately arch at the entrance, with sculpture and statues about it, built by Mary di Medices. Here it is that the gallants and ladys of the Court take the ayre and divert themselves, as with us in Hide Park, the circle being capable of containing an hundred coaches to turne commodiously, and the larger of the plantations for 5 or 6 coaches a brest.

Returning through the Thuilleries, we saw a building in which are kept wild beasts for the King's pleasure, a beare, a wolfe, a wild boare, a leopard, &c.

27 Feb. Accompany'd with some English gentlemen, we tooke horse to see St. Germains en Lay, a stately country-house of the King, some 5 leagues from Paris. By the way we alighted at St. Cloes,[1] where, on an eminence neere the river, the Archbishop of Paris has a garden, for the house is not very considerable, rarely water'd and furnish'd with fountaines, statues, and groves; the walkes are very faire; the fountain of Laocoon is in a large square pool, throwing

[1] Saint Cloud.

the water neere 40 feet high, and having about it a multitude of statues and basines, and is a surprising object; but nothing is more esteem'd than the cascade falling from the greate stepps into the lowest and longest walke from the Mount Parnassus, which consists of a grotto, or shell-house on the summit of the hill, wherein are divers water-workes and contrivances to wet the spectators; this is covered with a fayre cupola, the walls paynted with the Muses, and statues placed thick about it, whereof some are antiq and good. In the upper walks are two perspectives, seeming to enlarge the allys. In this garden are many other contrivances. The Palace, as I said, is not extraordinary. The outer walles onely paynted *a fresca*. In the Court is a Volary, and the statues of Charles IX. Hen. III. IV. and Lewis XIII. on horseback, mezzo-relievod in plaster. In the garden is a small chapell; and under shelter is the figure of *Cleopatra*, taken from the Belvidere original, with others. From the tarrace above is a tempest well paynted, and there is an excellent prospect towards Paris, the meadows, & river.

At an inn in this village is an host who treats all the greate persons in princely lodgings for furniture and plate, but they pay well for it, as I have don.

Indeed the entertainment is very splendid, and not unreasonable, considering the excellent manner of dressing their meate, and of the service. Here are many debauches and excessive revellings, being out of observance.

About a league farther we went to see Cardinal Richelieu's villa at Rueil. The house is small, but fairely built, in form of a castle, moated round. The offices are towards the road, and over against are large vineyards walled in.

Though the house is not of the greatest, the gardens about it are so magnificent that I doubt whether Italy has any exceeding it for all rarities of pleasure. The garden nearest the pavilion is a parterre, having in the middst divers noble brasse statues, perpetually spouting water into an ample bassin, with other figures of the same metal; but what is most admirable is the vast enclosure, and variety of ground, in the large garden, containing vineyards, cornefields, meadows, groves, (whereof one is one of perennial greens), and walkes of vast lengthes, so accurately kept and cultivated, that nothing can be more agreeable. On one of these walkes, within a square of tall trees, is a basilisc of copper, which managed by the fountainere casts water neere 60 feet high, and will of itself move round so

swiftly, that one can hardly escape wetting. This leads to the Citroniere, where is a noble conserve of all those rarities; and at the end of it is the *Arch of Constantine*, painted on a wall in oyle, as large as the real one at Rome, so well don that even a man skill'd in painting may mistake it for stone and sculpture. The skie and hills which seeme to be betweene the arches are so naturall that swallows and other birds, thinking to fly through, have dashed themselves against the wall. At the further part of this walke is that plentiful though artificial cascade which rolls down a very steepe declivity, and over the marble steps and bassins, with an astonishing noyse and fury; each basin hath a jetto in it, flowing like sheetes of transparent glasse, especially that which rises over the greate shell of lead, from whence it glides silently downe a channell thro' the middle of a spacious gravel walke terminating in a grotto. Here are also fountaines that cast water to a great height, and large ponds, 2 of which have islands for harbour of fowles, of which there is store. One of these islands has a receptacle for them built of vast pieces of rock, neere 50 feet high, growne over with mosse, ivy, &c. shaded at a competent distance with tall trees, in this the fowles lay eggs and breede. We then saw a large and very

rare grotto of shell-worke, in the shape of satyres and other wild fancys: in the middle stands a marble table, on which a fountaine plays in forms of glasses, cupps, crosses, fanns, crownes, &c. Then the fountaineere represented a showre of raine from the topp, mett by small jetts from below. At going out two extravagant musqueteeres shot us with a streme of water from their musket barrells. Before this grotto is a long poole into which ran divers spouts of water from leaden escallop bassins. The viewing this paradise made us late at St. Germains.

The first building of this palace is of Cha. V. called the Sage; but Francis I. (that true virtuoso) made it compleate, speaking as to the style of magnificence then in fashion, which was with too greate a mixture of the Gotic, as may be seen in what there is remaining of his in the old Castle, an irregular peece as built on the old foundation, and having a moate about it. It has yet some spacious & handsome roomes of state, & a chapell neately paynted. The new Castle is at some distance, divided from this by a court, of a lower, but more modern designe, built by Hen. IV. To this belong 6 tarraces built of brick & stone, descending in cascads towards the river, cut out of the naturall hill, having under them goodly vaulted galleries; of these, 4 have

subterranean grotts & rocks, where are represented severall objects in the manner of sceanes, and other motions by force of water, shewn by the light of torches onely; amongst these is Orpheus, with his musiq, & the animalls, which dance after his harp; in the second is the King and Dolphin (Dauphin); in the third is Neptune sounding his trumpet, his charriot drawne by sea-horses; in the fourth Perseus & Andromeda; mills; hermitages; men fishing; birds chirping; and many other devices. There is also a dry grott to refresh in, all having a fine prospect towards the river and the goodly country about it, especially the forrest. At the bottom is a parterre; the upper tarrace neere half a mile in length, with double declivities, arch'd and baluster'd with stone, of vast and royal cost.

In the Pavilion of the new Castle are many faire roomes, well paynted, and leading into a very noble garden and parke, where is a pall-maill, in the midst of which, on one of the sides, is a Chapell, with stone cupola, tho' small, yet of an handsome order of architecture. Out of the parke you goe into the forrest, which being very large is stor'd with deare, wild boares, wolves, and other wild game. The Tennis Court, and Cavalerizzo for the menag'd horses, are also observable.

We return'd to Paris by Madrid, another villa of the King's, built by Francis I. and called by that name to absolve him of his oath that he would not go from Madrid, in which he was prisoner in Spayne, but from whence he made his escape. This house is also built in a park, walled in. We next called in at the Bonnes hommes, well situated, with a faire Chapel and Library.

1 March. I went to see the Count de Liancourts' Palace in the Rue de Seine, which is well built. Towards his study and bedchamber joyns a little garden, which tho' very narrow, by the addition of a well painted perspective is to appearance greatly enlarged; to this there is another part, supported by arches, in which runs a streame of water, rising in the aviary, out of a statue, and seeming to flow for some miles, by being artificially continued in the painting, when it sinkes downe at the wall. It is a very agreeable deceipt. At the end of this garden is a little theater, made to change with divers pretty seanes, and the stage so ordered that with figures of men & women paynted on light-boards, and cut out, and, by a person who stands underneath, made to act as if they were speaking, by guiding them, & reciting words in different tones as the parts require. We were led into a round

cabinet, where was a neate invention for reflecting lights by lining divers sconces with thin shining plates of gilded copper.

. . . . .

Having seene the roomes (at Fontainebleau) we went to the Volary, which has a cupola in the middle of it, greate trees and bushes, it being full of birds who drank at two fountaines. There is a faire Tennis Court & noble Stables; but the beauty of all are the Gardens. In the Court of the Fountaines stand divers antiquities and statues, especialy a Mercury. In the Queenes Garden is a Diana ejecting a fountaine, with numerous other brasse statues.

The Greate Garden, 180 toises long and 154 wide, has in the centre a fountayne of Tyber of a Colossean figure of brasse, with the Wolfe over Romulus & Rhemus. At each corner of the garden rises a fountaine. In the Garden of the Fishpond is a Hercules of white marble. Next is the Garden of the Pines, and without that a Canale of an English mile in length, at the end of which rise 3 jettos in the form of a fleur de lys, of a great height; on the margin are excellent walkes planted with trees. The carps come familiarly to hand [to be fed]. Hence they brought us to a

spring, which they say being first discover'd by a dog, gave occasion of beautifying this place, both with the Palace and Gardens. The rocks at some distance in the Forest, yeald one of the most august & stupendous prospects imaginable. The Parke about this place is very large, and the Towne is full of noblemen's houses.

. . . . .

1 April. I went to see more exactly the roomes of the fine Palace of Luxemburge, in the Fauxborg St. Germains, built by Mary de Medices, and I think one of the most noble, entire, and finish'd piles that is to be seen, taking it with the garden and all its accomplishments. The gallery is of the painting of Rubens, being the history of the Foundresses life, rarely designed; at the end of it is the Duke of Orleans's Library, well furnished with excellent bookes, all bound in maroquin and gilded, the valans of the shelves being of greene velvet fring'd with gold. In the cabinet joyning it are onely the smaler volumes, with 6 cabinets of medails, and an excellent collection of shells, and achates, whereof some are prodigiously rich. This Duke being very learn'd in medails and plants, nothing of that kind escapes him. There are

other spacious, noble, and princely furnish'd roomes, which looke towards the gardens, and which are nothing inferior to the rest.

The Court below is formed into a square by a corridor, having over the chiefe entrance a stately cupola, covered with stone; the rest is cloister'd and arch'd on pillasters of rustiq worke. The tarrace ascending before the front, paved with white & black marble, is balustred with white marble, exquisitely polish'd.

Onely the Hall below is low, and the stayrecase somewhat of an heavy designe, but the faciata towards the parterre, which is also arched & vaulted with stone, is of admirable beauty, and full of sculpture.

The Gardens are neere an English mile in compasse, enclos'd with a stately wall, and in a good ayre. The parterre is indeed of box, but so rarely design'd and accurately kept cut, that the embroidery makes a wonderful effect to the lodgings which front it. 'Tis divided into 4 squares, & as many circular knots, having in the center a noble basin of marble neere 30 feet in diameter (as I remember), in which a triton of brasse holds a dolphin that casts a girandola of water neere 30 foote high, playing perpetualy, the water being convey'd from Arceuil by an aqueduct of

stone, built after the old Roman magnificence. About this ample parterre, the spacious walkes & all included, runs a border of freestone, adorned with pedestalls for potts and statues, and part of it neere the stepps of the terrace, with a raile and baluster of pure white marble.

The walkes are exactly faire, long, & variously descending, and so justly planted with limes, elms, & other trees, that nothing can be more delicious, especialy that of the hornebeam hedge, which being high and stately, butts full on the fountaine.

Towards the farther end is an excavation intended for a vast fishpool, but never finish'd. Neere it is an enclosure for a garden of simples, well kept, and here the Duke keepes tortoises in greate number, who use the poole of water on one side of the garden. Here is also a conservatory for snow. At the upper part towards the Palace is a grove of tall elmes cutt into a starr, every ray being a walk, whose center is a large fountaine.

The rest of the ground is made into severall inclosures (all hedgeworke or rowes of trees) of whole fields, meadowes, boxages [bocages], some of them containing divers acres.

Next the streete side, and more contiguous to the

house, are knotts in trayle or grasse worke, where likewise runs a fountaine. Towards the grotto and stables, within a wall, is a garden of choyce flowers, in which the Duke spends many thousand pistoles. In sum, nothing is wanting to render this palace and gardens perfectly beautifull & magnificent; nor is it one of the least diversions to see the number of persons of quality, citizens and strangers, who frequent it, and to whom all accesse is freely permitted, so that you shall see some walkes & retirements full of gallants and ladys; in others melancholy fryers; in others studious scholars; in others jolly citizens, some sitting or lying on the grasse, others runing, jumping, some playing at bowles and ball, others dancing and singing; and all this without the least disturbance, by reason of the largeness of the place. What is most admirable is, you see no gardners or men at worke, and yet all is kept in such exquisite order as if they did nothing else but work; it is so early in the morning, that all is dispatch'd and done without the least confusion.

I have been the larger in the description of this Paradise, for the extraordinary delight I have taken in those sweete retirements. The Cabinet and Chapell neerer the garden front have some choyce pictures. All the houses neere this are also noble palaces,

especialy *petite Luxemburge*. The ascent of the streete is handsome from its breadth, situation, and buildings.

. . . . .

The next morning I went to the Garden of Monsieur Morine, who from being an ordinary gardner is become one of the most skillfull and curious persons in France for his rare collection of shells, flowers, & insects.

His Garden is of an exact oval figure, planted with cypresse cutt flat & set even as a wall: the tulips, anemonies, ranunculus's, crocus's, &c. are held to be of the rarest, and draw all the admirers of such things to his house during the season. He lived in a kind of Hermitage at one side of his garden, where his collection of purselane and coral, whereof one is carved into a large Crucifix, is much esteemed. He has also bookes of prints, by Albert [Durer], Van Leyden, Calot, &c. His collection of all sorts of insects, especially of Butterflys, is most curious; these he spreads and so medicates that no corruption invading them, he keepes them in drawers, so plac'd as to represent a beautifull piece of tapistre.

He shew'd me the remarks he had made on their propagation, which he promis'd to publish. Some of

these, as also of his best flowers, he had caus'd to be painted in miniature by rare hands, and some in oyle.

I went to see divers of the fairest palaces, as that of Vendosme, very large and stately; Longueville, Guyse, Condi, Chevereuse; Nevers, esteem'd one of the best in Paris towards the river.

I often went to the Palais Cardinal, bequeathed by Richelieu to the King, on condition that it should be called by his name; at this time the King resided in it, because of the building of the Louvre. It is a very noble house, tho' somewhat low; the gallerys, paintings of the most illustrious persons of both sexes, the Queenes bathes, presence chamber with its rich carved and gilded roofe, theatre, & large garden, in which is an ample fountaine, grove, and maille,[1] are worthy of remark. Here I also frequently went to see them ride and exercise the Greate Horse, especialy at the Academy of Monsieur du Plessis, and de Veau, whose scholes of that art are frequented by the

[1] *i. e.* Play-ground for *Paille Maille* (Pall Mall), "a pastime not unlike goff" according to Strutt; but more like croquet, if we may trust Cotgrave's Dictionary:—"Paile-Maille is a game wherein a round box ball is struck with a mallet through a high arch of iron, which he that can do at the fewest blows, or at the number agreed upon, wins."

Nobility; and here also young gentlemen are taught to fence, daunce, play on musiq, and something in fortification & the mathematics. The designe is admirable, some keeping neere an hundred brave horses, all managed to the greate saddle.

. . . . .

We ariv'd at Blois in the evening (April 28, 1644). The town is hilly, uneven, and rugged. It stands on the side of the Loire, having suburbs joyn'd by a stately stone bridg, on which is a pyramid with an inscription. At the entrance of the castle is a stone statue of Lewis XII. on horseback, as large as life, under a Gothic state; and a little below are these words:

"Hic ubi natus erat dextro Ludovicus Olympo
Sumpsit honorata regia sceptra manu:
Fœlix quæ tanti fulsit Lux nuncia Regis
Gallica non alio principe digna fuit."

Under this is a very wide payre of gates, nailed full of wolves and wild-boars' heads. Behind the castle the present Duke Gaston had begun a faire building, through which we walked into a large garden, esteemed for its furniture one of the fairest, especialy for simples and exotic plants, in which he takes extraordinary delight. On the right hand is a longe gallery full of

ancient statues and inscriptions, both of marble and brasse; the length, 300 paces, divides the garden into higher and lower ground, having a very noble fountaine. There is the portrait of an hart, taken in the forest by Lewis XII. which has 24 antlers on its head. In the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour we saw many sepulchres of the Earls of Blois.

Sunday, being May day, we walked up into the Pall Mall, very long and so nobly shaded with tall trees (being in the midst of a great woode), that, unless that of Tours, I had not seene a statelier.

. . . . .

The Gardens (at Cardinal Richelieu's Palace) without are very large, and the parterres of excellent imbrodry, set with many statues of brasse and marble; the groves, meadows, and walkes are a real paradise.

. . . . .

This Palace of Negros (Palazzo Negroné, at Genoa) is richly furnish'd with the rarest pictures; on the terrace, or hilly garden, there is a grove of stately trees amongst which are sheepe, shepherds, and wild beasts, cut very artificially in a grey stone; fountaines, rocks, and fish-ponds: casting your eyes one way, you would imagine

yourselfe in a wildernesse and silent country; sideways, in the heart of a great citty; and backwards, in the middst of the sea. All this is within one acre of ground.

. . . . .

To this Palace (of Prince d'Orias) belong three gardens, the first whereof is beautified with a terrace, supported by pillars of marble; there is a fountaine of eagles, and one of Neptune with other Sea-gods, all of the purest white marble; they stand in a most ample basine of the same stone. At the side of this garden is such an aviary as Sir Fra. Bacon describes in his *Sermones fidelium*, or Essays, wherein grow trees of more than two foote diameter, beside cypresse, myrtils, lentiscs, and other rare shrubs, which serve to nestle and pearch all sorts of birds, who have ayre and place enough under their ayrie canopy, supported with huge iron worke, stupendous for its fabrick and the charge. The other two gardens are full of orange-trees, citrons, and pomegranads, fountaines, grotts, and statues; one of the latter is a Colossal Jupiter, under which is the sepulchre of a beloved dog, for the care of which one of this family receiv'd of the K. of Spaine 500 crownes a yeare during the life of that faithfull animal. The

reservoir of water here is a most admirable piece of art; and so is the grotto over against it.

. . . . .

The garden (of the Palazzo di Strozzi, at Florence) has every variety, hills, dales, rocks, groves, aviaries, vivaries, fountaines, especialy one of five jettos, the middle basin being one of the longest stones I ever saw. Here is every thing to make such a paradise delightfull. In the garden I saw a rose grafted on an orange-tree. There was much topiary worke, and columns in architecture about the hedges.

. . . . .

Rome. Returning home we view'd the Palazzo de Medici, which was a house of the Duke of Florence, neere our lodging, on the brow of Mons Pincius, having a fine prospect towards the Campo Marzo. It is a magnificent, strong building, having a substruction very remarkable, and a portico supported with columns towards the gardens, with two huge lions of marble at the end of the balustrade. The whole outside of the faciata is encrusted with antiq and rare basse-relieves and statues. Descending into the garden is a noble fountaine govern'd by a Mercury of brasse. At a

little distance on the left is a lodge full of fine statues, amongst which the Sabines is antiq and singularly rare. In the arcado neere this stand 24 statues of great price, and hard by is a mount planted with cypresses representing a fortresse, with a goodly fountaine in the middle. Here is also a row balustred with white marble, covered over with the natural shrubbs, ivy, and other perennial greenes, divers statues and heads being placed as in niches. At a little distance are those fam'd statues of Niobe and her family, in all 15, as large as the life, of which we have ample mention in Pliny, esteemed among the pieces of best worke in the world for the passions they expresse, and all other perfections of that stupendous art. There is in this garden a faire obelisq full of hieroglyphics. In going out, the fountaine before the front casts water neere 50 foote in height, when it is received in a most ample marble basin. Here they usually rode the greate-horse every morning, which gave me much diversion from the terrace of my owne chamber, where I could see all their motions.

. . . . .

We went to see Prince Ludovisio's villa where was formerly the *Viridarium* of the poet Sallust. The

house is very magnificent, and the extent of the ground is exceeding large considering that it is in a Citty; in every quarter of the garden are antiq statues, and walkes planted with cypresse. To this garden belongs a house of retirement built in the figure of a crosse after a particular ordonance, especially the stayrecase. The whitenesse and smoothnesse of the pargeting was a thing I much observ'd, being almost as even and polish'd as if it had been marble.

. . . . .

The garden which is called the *Belvidere di Monte Cavallo*, in emulation to that of the Vatican, is most excellent for ayre and prospect, its exquisite fountaines, close walkes, grotts, piscinas or stews for fish, planted about with venerable cypresses, and refresh'd with water-musiq, aviaries, and other rarities.

. . . . .

I walked to Villa Borghesi, a house and ample garden on Mons Pincius, yet somewhat without the Citty walls, circumscrib'd by another wall full of small turrets and banqueting-houses, which makes it appeare at a distance like a little towne. Within it is an elysium of delight, having in the centre a noble Palace; but the enterance of the garden presents us with a very

glorious fabrick or rather dore-case adorn'd with divers excellent marble statues. This garden abounded with all sorts of delicious fruit and exotiq simples, fountaines of sundry inventions, groves, and small rivulets. There is also adjoining to it a vivarium for estriges (ostriches), peacocks, swanns, cranes, &c. and divers strange beasts, deare, and hares. The grotto is very rare, and represents among other devices artificial raine, and sundry shapes of vessells, flowers, &c. which is effected by changing the heads of the fountaines. The groves are of cypresse, laurell, pine, myrtil, olive, &c. The 4 sphinxes are very antique and worthy observation. To this is a volary full of curious birds. The house is square, with turrets from which the prospect is excellent towards Rome and the environing hills covered as they now are with snow, which indeed commonly continues even a great part of the sum'er, affording great refreshment. Round the house is a balustre of white marble, with frequent jettoes of water, and adorn'd with a multitude of statues.

. . . . .

I went to see the garden and house of the Aldobrandini, now Cardinal Borghese's. This palace is, for architecture, magnificence, pompe and state, one of

the most considerable about the Citty. It has 4 fronts, and a noble Piazza before it. . . . In the garden are many fine fountaines, the walls cover'd with citron trees, which being rarely spread invest the stone worke intirely; and towards the streete, at a back gate, the Port is so handsomely cloath'd with ivy as much pleas'd me. About this Palace are many noble antiq bassi relievi, two especialy are placed on the ground, representing armor and other military furniture of the Romans; beside these stand about the garden numerous rare statues, altars, and urnes. Above all, for antiquity and curiosity (as being the onely rarity of that nature now knowne to remaine) is that piece of old Roman paynting representing the Roman Sponsalia, or celebration of their marriage, judged to be 1400 yeares old, yet are the colours very lively and the designe very intire, tho' found deepe in the ground. For this morcell of paynting's sake onely 'tis sayd that Borghesi purchased the house, because this being on a wall in a kind of banqueting house in the garden could not be removed, but passe with the inheritance.

. . . . .

I went farther up the hill to the Pope's Palace at Monte Cavallo, where I now saw the garden more

exactly, and found it to be one of the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome. I am told the gardener is annualy alowed 2000 scudi for the keeping it. Here I observ'd hedges of myrtle above a man's height; others of laurell, oranges, nay of ivy and juniper; the close walks, and rustic grotto; a crypta, of which the laver or basin is of one vast, intire, antiq porphyrie, and below this flows a plentifull cascade; the steppes of the grotto and the roofs being of rich Mosaiq. Here are hydraulic organs, and a fish-pond in an ample bath.

. . . . .

By these (stairs) we descended into the Vatican Gardens cal'd *Belvedere*, where entring first into a kind of Court we were shown those incomparable statues (so fam'd by Pliny and others) of Laocoon with his three sonns embrac'd by an huge serpent, all of one entire Parian stone very white and perfect, somewhat bigger then the life, the worke of those three celebrated sculptors, Agesandrus, Polidorus, and Artemidorus, Rhodians; it was found among the ruines of Titus's Baths, and placed here. . . . In the Garden without this (which containes a vast circuit of ground) are many stately fountaines, especialy two casting water

into antiq lavors brought from Titus's Bathes; some faire grotts and water works, that noble cascade where the ship daunces, with divers other pleasant inventions, walkes, terraces, meanders, fruite-trees, and a most goodly prospect over the greatest part of the Citty. One fountaine under the gate I must not omitt, consisting of three jettos of water gushing out of the mouthes or proboscis of bees (the armes of the late Pope), because of the inscription:—

> Quid miraris Apem, quæ mel de floribus haurit?
> Si tibi mellitam gutture fundit aquam.

. . . . .

We descried Mount Cæcubus, famous for the generous wine it heretofore produc'd, and so rid onward the Appian Way, beset with myrtils, lentiscus, bayes, pomegranads, and whole groves of orange-trees, and most delicious shrubbs, till we came to Formiana, where they shew'd us Cicero's Tomb standing in an olive grove, now a rude heap of stones, without forme or beauty; for here that incomparable Orator was murther'd. I shall never forget how exceedingly I was delighted with the sweetnesse of this passage, the sepulcher mixed amongst all sorts of verdure.

. . . . .

Adjoining to this (St. Maria in Navicula) are the Horti Mathæi, which only of all the places about the Citty I omitted visiting, tho' I was told inferiour to no garden in Rome for statues, ancient monuments, aviaries, fountaines, groves, and especialy a noble obelisq, and maintain'd in beauty at the expense of 6000 crownes yearely, which if not expended to keepe up its beauty forfeits the possession of a greater revenue to another family; so curious are they in their villas and places of pleasure, even to excesse.

. . . . .

The gardens of Justinian, which we next visited, are very full of statues and antiquities, especialy urnes, amongst which is that of Min. Felix; a Terminus that formerly stood in the Appian Way, and a huge colosse of the Emperor Justinian. There is a delicate aviarie on the hill; the whole gardens furnish'd with rare collections, fresh, shady, and adorn'd with noble fountaines.

. . . . .

After dinner we went again to see the Villa Borghesi, about a mile without the Cittie; the garden is rather a park or paradise, contriv'd and planted with walkes and shades of myrtils, cypresse and other trees

and groves, with abundance of fountaines, statues, and bass-relievos, and several pretty murmuring rivulets. Here they had hung large netts to catch woodcocks. There was also a *Vivarie*, where amongst other exotic fowles was an ostridge; besides a most capacious aviarie; and in another inclosed part, an herd of deere. Before the palace (which might become the courte of a great prince) stands a noble fountaine of white marble, inrich'd with statues.

. . . . .

We tooke coach, and went 15 miles out of the Cittie to Frascati, formerly Tusculanum, a villa of Cardinal Aldobrandini, built for a country-house, but surpassing, in my opinion, the most delicious places I ever beheld for its situation, elegance, plentifull water, groves, ascents, and prospects. Just behind the palace (which is of excellent architecture) in the center of the inclosure rises an high hill or mountaine all over clad with tall wood, and so form'd by nature as if it had been cut out by art, from the sum'it whereof falls a cascade, seeming rather a greate river than a streame precipitating into a large theater of water, representing an exact and perfect rainebow when the sun shines out. Under this is made an artificiall grott, wherein are

curious rocks, hydraulic organs, and all sorts of singing birds moving and chirping by force of the water, with severall other pageants and surprising inventions. In the center of one of these roomes rises a coper ball that continually daunces about 3 foote above the pavement by virtue of a wind conveyed secretely to a hole beneath it; with many other devices to wett the unwary spectators, so that one can hardly step without wetting to the skin. In one of these theaters of water is an Atlas spouting up the streame to a very great height; and another monster makes a terrible roaring with an horn; but, above all, the representation of a storm is most naturall, with such fury of raine, wind, and thunder, as one would imagine ones self in some extreame tempest. The garden has excellent walkes and shady groves, abundance of rare fruit, oranges, lemons, &c. and the goodly prospect of Rome, above all description, so as I do not wonder that Cicero and others have celebrated this place with such encomiums.

. . . . .

Arriv'd at Tivoli we went first to see the Palace d'Esté erected on a plaine, but where was formerly an hill. The palace is very ample and stately. In the

garden on the right hand are 16 vast conchas of marble jetting out waters; in the midst of these stands a Janus quadrifrons, that cast forth 4 girandolas, call'd from the resemblance [to a particular exhibition in fireworks so named] the Fontana di Specchio [looking-glass]. Neere this is a place for tilting. Before the ascent of the palace is the famous fountaine of Leda, and not far from that 4 sweete and delicious gardens. Descending thence are two pyramids of water, and in a grove of trees neere it the fountaines of Tethys, Esculapius, Arethusa, Pandora, Pomona, and Flora; then the prancing Pegasus, Bacchus, the Grott of Venus, the two Colosses of Melicerta, and Sibylla Tibertina, all of exquisite marble, coper, and other suitable adornements. The Cupids pouring out water are especialy most rare, and the urnes on which are plac'd the 10 nymphs. The Grotts are richly pav'd with Pietra Commessa, shells, corall, &c.

Towards Roma Triumphans leades a long and spacious walk, full of fountaines, under which is historized the whole Ovidian Metamorphosis in rarely sculptur'd *mezzo relievo*. At the end of this, next the wall, is the Cittie of Rome as it was in its beauty, of small models, representing that Cittie, with its Amphi-theaters, Naumachia, Thermæ, Temples, Arches, Aque-

ducts, Streetes, and other magnificences, with a little streame running thro' it for the Tyber, gushing out of an urne next the statue of the river. In another garden is a noble aviarie, the birds artificial, and singing till an owle appeares, on which they suddainly change their notes. Near this is the fountaine of Dragons casting out large streames of water with great noises. In another Grotto called *Grotto di Natura*, is an hydraulic organ; and below this are divers stews and fish-pounds, in one of which is the statue of Neptune in his chariot on a sea-horse, in another a Triton; and lastly a garden of simples.

. . . . .

Taking leave of our two jolly companions Signor Giovanni and his fellow, we tooke horses for Bologna, and by the way alighted at a villa of the Grand Duke's called Pratoline. The house is a square of 4 pavilions, with a faire platform about it, balustred with stone, situate in a large meadow, ascending like an amphi-theater, having at the bottom a huge rock with water running in a small channell like a cascade; on the other side are the gardens. The whole place seems consecrated to pleasure and summer retirement. The inside of the palace may compare with any in Italy for

furniture of tapistry, beds, &c. and the gardens are delicious and full of fountaines. In the grove sits Pan feeding his flock, the water making a melodious sound through his pipe; and an Hercules whose club yields a shower of water which falling into a greate shell has a naked woman riding on the backs of dolphins. In another grotto is Vulcan and his family, the walls richly compos'd of corals, shells, coper, and marble figures, with the hunting of severall beasts, moving by the force of water. Here, having been well washed for our curiosity, we went down a large walke, at the sides whereof several slender streams of water gush out of pipes concealed underneath, that interchangeably fall into each others channells, making a lofty and perfect arch, so that a man on horseback may ride under it and not receive one drop of wet. This canopy or arch of water, I thought one of the most surprising magnificencies I had ever seene, and very refreshing in the heate of the sum'er. At the end of this very long walk stands a woman in white marble, in posture of a laundress wringing water out of a piece of linen, very naturally formed into a vast lavor, the work and invention of M. Angelo Buonarotti. Hence we ascended Mount Parnassus, where the Muses plaied to us on hydraulic organs. Neere this is a greate aviarie.

All these waters came from the rock in the garden, on which is the statue of a gyant representing the Apennines, at the foote of which stands this villa. Last of all we came to the labyrinth in which a huge colosse of Jupiter throws out a streame over the garden. This is 50 foote in height, having in his body a square chamber, his eyes and mouth serving for windows and dore.

. . . . .

The next morning I went to see the Garden of Simples (at Padua), rarely furnish'd with plants, and gave order to the gardener to make me a collection of them for an *hortus hyemalis*, by permission of the Cavalier Dr. Vestlingius, who was then Prefect and Botanic Professor as well as of Anatomie.

Next morning the Earle of Arundel, now in this Citty, a famous collector of paintings and antiquities, invited me to go with him to see the Garden of Mantua, where as one enters stands a huge colosse of Hercules.

. . . . .

Count Ulmarini (at Vincenza) is more famous for his gardens, being without the walls, especially his Cedrario or Conserve of Oranges eleven score of my

paces long, set in order and ranges, making a canopy all the way by their intermixing branches for more than 200 of my single paces, and which being full of fruite and blossoms was a most delicious sight. In the middle of this garden was a cupola made of wyre, supported by slender pillars of brick, so closely cover'd with ivy, both without and within, that nothing was to be perceived but greene; 'twixt the arches there dangled festoones of the same. Here is likewise a most inextricable labyrinth.

. . . . .

In the evening we saw the garden of Count Giusti's villa (at Verona), where are walkes cut out of the maine rock, from whence we had the pleasant prospect of Mantua and Parma, though at greate distance. At the entrance of this garden growes the goodliest cypresse I fancy in Europ, cut in pyramid; 'tis a prodigious tree both for breadth and height, entirely cover'd and thick to the base.

. . . . .

Aug. 1649. Returning to Paris we went to see the President Maison's Palace, built castle-wise of a milk-white fine freestone; the house not vast, but well contriv'd, especialy the staire-case and the ornaments

of Putti about it. 'Tis inviron'd in a dry moate, the offices under-ground, the gardens very excellent with extraordinary long walkes set with elmes, and a noble prospect towards the forest and on the Seine towards Paris. Take it altogether, the meadows, walkes, river, forest, corne-ground, and vineyards, I hardly saw anything in Italy exceede it. The yron gates are very magnificent. He has pulled downe a whole village to make roome for his pleasure about it.

. . . . .

March 22, 1652. I went with my brother Evelyn to Wotton to give him what directions I was able about his garden, which he was now desirous to put into some forme; but for which he was to remove a mountaine overgrowne with huge trees and thicket, with a moate within 10 yards of the house. This my brother immediately attempted, and that without greate cost, for more than an hundred yards South, by digging downe the mountaine and flinging it into a rapid streame, it not onely carried away the sand, &c. but filled up the moate, and level'd that noble area, where now the garden and fountaine is. The first occasion of my brother making this alteration was my building the little retiring place betweene the greate wood Eastward next the meadow,

where sometime after my father's death I made a triangular pond, or little stew, with an artificial rock after my coming out of Flanders.

. . . . .

We went to see Penshurst, the Earl of Leicester's, famous once for its gardens and excellent fruit, and for the noble conversation which was wont to meete there, celebrated by that illustrious person Sir Philip Sidney, who had there compos'd divers of his pieces. It stands in a park, is finely water'd, and was now full of company on the marriage of my old fellow collegiate Mr. Robert Smith, who married my Lady Dorothy Sidney widdow of the Earle of Sunderland.

. . . . .

17 Jan., 1653. I began to set out the ovall garden at Sayes Court, which was before a rude orchard and all the rest one intire field of 100 acres, without any hedge, except the hither holly hedge joyning to the bank of the mount walk. This was the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures, and plantations there.

. . . . .

May, 1654. I went to Hackney to see my Lady Brook's garden, which was one of the neatest and most

celebrated in England, the house well furnish'd, but a despicable building. Returning, visited one Mr. Tombs's garden; it has large and noble walks, some modern statues, a vineyard, planted in strawberry borders, staked at 10 foote distances; the banquetting-house of cedar, where the couch and seates were carv'd *a l'antique*.

. . . . .

Hence we went to the Physick Garden (at Oxford), where the sensitive plant was shew'd us for a greate wonder. There grew canes, olive-trees, rhubarb, but no extraordinary curiosities, besides very good fruit, which when the ladys had tasted, we return'd in our coach to our lodgings.

We all din'd at that most obliging and universally-curious Dr. Wilkins's, at Wadham College. He was the first who shew'd me the transparent apiaries, which he had built like castles and palaces, and so order'd them one upon another as to take the hony without destroying the bees. These were adorn'd with a variety of dials, little statues, vanes, &c. and he was so aboundantly civil, as finding me pleas'd with them, to present me with one of the hives which he had empty, and which I afterwards had in my garden at Sayes Court, where it continu'd many years, and which his

Majestie came on purpose to see and contemplate with much satisfaction. He had also contriv'd an hollow statue which gave a voice and utter'd words, by a long conceal'd pipe that went to its mouth, whilst one speaks through it at a good distance.

. . . . . .

In the afternoone we went to Wilton, a fine house of the Earl of Pembroke, in which the most observable are the dining-roome in the modern built part towards the garden, richly gilded and painted with story by De Creete; also some other apartments, as that of hunting landskips by Pierce; some magnificent chimny-pieces after the best French manner; a paire of artificial winding-stayres of stone, and divers rare pictures. The garden, heretofore esteem'd the noblest in England, is a large handsom plaine, with a grotto and water-works, which might be made much more pleasant were the river that passes through cleans'd and rais'd, for all is effected by a meere force. It has a flower garden not inelegant. But after all, that which renders the seate delightful is its being so neere the downes and noble plaines about the country contiguous to it. The stables are well order'd and yeild a gracefull front, by reason of the walkes of lime-

trees, with the court and fountaine of the stables adorn'd with the Cæsar's heads.

. . . . .

I went to Box-hill to see those rare natural bowers, cabinets, and shady walkes in the box-copses: hence we walk'd to Mickleham, and saw Sir F. Stidolph's seate environ'd with elme-trees and walnuts innumerable, and of which last he told us they receiv'd a considerable revenue. Here are such goodly walkes and hills shaded with yew and box as render the place extreamely agreeable, it seeming from these ever-greens to be summer all the winter.

. . . . .

9 Aug., 1661. I first saw the famous *Queen's Pine*[1] brought from Barbados and presented to his Majestie; but the first that were ever seen in England were those sent to Cromwell foure years since.

. . . . .

June, 1662. The park (at Hampton Court) formerly a flat naked piece of ground, now planted with sweete rows of lime-trees; and the canall for water now neere

[1] At Kensington Palace is a curious picture of King Charles receiving a pine apple from his gardener Mr. Rose, who is presenting it on his knees.

perfected; also the hare park. In the garden is a rich and noble fountaine, with syrens, statues, &c. cast in copper by Fanelli, but no plenty of water. The cradle-walk of horne beame in the garden is, for the perplexed twining of the trees, very observable. There is a parterre which they call Paradise, in which is a pretty banquetting-house set over a cave or cellar. All these gardens might be exceedingly improved, as being too narrow for such a palace.

. . . . .

Next to Wadham, and the Physick Garden, where were two large locust trees, and as many platana, and some rare plants under the culture of old Bobart.[1]

. . . . .

1666. There stand in the Garden (of Nonesuch) two handsome stone pyramids, and the avenue planted with rows of faire elmes, but the rest of these goodly trees,

[1] Jacob Bobart, a German, was appointed the first keeper of the Physic Garden at Oxford. There is a fine print of him after Loggan by Burghers, dated 1675. Also a small whole length in the frontispiece of Vertumnus, a poem on that garden. In this he is dressed in a long vest, with a beard. His descendants were still in Oxford in Loudon's time. He died in his Garden-house, 4 Feb., 1679 (Anth. Wood).

both of this and of Worcester Park adjoyning, were fell'd by those destructive and avaricious rebells in the late warr, which defac'd one of the stateliest seates his Majesty had.

. . . . .

To Alburie to see how that garden proceeded, which I found exactly don to the designe and plot I had made, with the crypta through the mountaine in the park, 30 perches in length. Such a Pausilippe [1] is no where in England besides. The canall was now digging, and the vineyard planted.

. . . . .

His house (Lord Arlington's at Euston) is a very noble pile, consisting of 4 pavillions after the French, beside a body of a large house, and tho' not built altogether, but form'd of additions to an old house (purchas'd by his Lordship of one Sir T. Rookwood) yet with a vast expence made not onely capable and roomesome, but very magnificent and commodious, as well within as without, nor lesse splendidly furnish'd. The stayre-case is very elegant, the garden handsome, the canall beautifull, but the soile drie, barren and

[1] A word adopted by Mr. Evelyn for a subterranean passage, from the famous grotto of Pausylippo, at Naples.

miserably sandy, which flies in drifts as the wind sits. Here my Lord was pleas'd to advise with me about ordering his plantations of firs, elmes, limes, &c. up his parke, and in all other places and avenues. I persuaded him to bring his park so neere as to comprehend his house within it, which he resolv'd upon, it being now neere a mile to it. The water furnishing the fountaines is raised by a pretty engine, on very slight plaine wheels, which likewise serve to grind his corne, from a small cascade of the canall, the invention of Sir Sam. Moreland.

. . . . .

17 Oct., 1671. Next morning I went to see Sir Tho. Browne (with whom I had some time corresponded by letter, tho' I had never seen him before). His whole house and garden being a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collection, especialy medails, books, plants, and natural things. Amongst other curiosities Sir Thomas had a collection of the eggs of all the foule and birds he could procure, that country (especialy the promontary of Norfolck) being frequented, as he said, by severall kinds which seldome or never go farther into the land, as cranes, storkes, eagles, and variety of water-foule.

. . . . .

For the rest, the fore court (at Lord John Berkeley's, of Stratton) is noble, so are the stables, and above all, the gardens, which are incomparable by reason of the inequalitie of the ground, and a pretty piscina. The holly hedges on the terrace I advised the planting of. The porticoes are in imitation of an house described by Palladio, but it happens to be the worst in his booke, tho' my good friend Mr. Hugh May, his Lordship's architect, effected it.

. . . .

3 Jan., 1673. My sonn now publish'd his version of 'Rapinus Hortorum.'[1]

. . . . .

29 April, 1675. I read my first discourse 'Of Earth and Vegetation,' before the Royall Society, as a lecture in course after Sir Rob. Southwell had read his the weeke before On Water. I was commanded by our President and the suffrage of the Society to print it.

. . . . .

10 Sep., 1677. The orange garden (at Euston) is

[1] Of Gardens. Four Books. First written in Latin verse, by Renatus Rapinus, and now made English. By I. E. London, 1673. Dedicated to Henry Earle of Arlington, &c.

very fine, and leads into the green-house, at the end of which is a hall to eate in, and the conservatory some hundred feete long, adorn'd with mapps, as the other side is with the heads of Cæsars ill cut in alabaster: over head are several apartments for my Lord, Lady, and Dutchesse, with kitchens and other offices below in a lesser form, with lodgings for servants, all distinct, for them to retire to when they please and would be in private and have no communication with the palace, which he tells me he will wholly resign to his sonn-in-law and daughter, that charming young creature. The canall running under my lady's dressing-room chamber window is full of carps and foule which come and are fed there. The cascade at the end of the canall turnes a corne-mill, which provides the family, and raises water for the fountaines and offices. To passe this canal into the opposite meadows, Sir Sam. Moreland has invented a screw-bridge, which being turn'd with a key lands you 50 foote distant at the entrance of an ascending walke of trees, a mile in length, as tis also on the front into the park, of 4 rows of ash-trees, and reaches to the park-pale, which is 9 miles in compass, and the best for riding and meeting the game that I ever saw.

. . . . .

27 Aug., 1678. I tooke leave of the Duke, and din'd at Mr. Hen. Brouncker's, at the Abby of Sheene, formerly a monastery of Carthusians, there yet remaining one of their solitary cells with a crosse. Within this ample inclosure are several pretty villas and fine gardens of the most excellent fruites, especialy Sir William Temple's (lately Ambassador into Holland), and the Lord Lisle's, sonn to the Earle of Leicester, who has divers rare pictures, and above all, that of Sir Brian Tuke's by Holbein.

After dinner I walk'd to Ham, to see the house and garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is indeede inferior to few of the best villas in Italy itselfe; the house furnish'd like a greate Prince's; the parterres, flower gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountaines, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needes be admirable.

Hence I went to my worthy friend Sir Henry Capel [at Kew] brother to the Earle of Essex: it is an old timber house, but his garden has the choicest fruit of any plantation in England, as he is the most industrious and understanding in it.

. . . . .

18 April, 1680. On the earnest invitation of the Earle of Essex I went with him to his house at Cashioberie, in Hartford-shire. . . .

No man has ben more industrious than this noble Lord in planting about his seate, adorn'd with walkes, ponds, and other rural elegancies; but the soile is stonie, churlish, and uneven, nor is the water neere enough to the house, tho' a very swift and cleare stream runs within a flight shot from it in the vally, which may fitly be call'd Coldbrook, it being indeede excessive cold, yet producing faire troutes. 'Tis pitty the house was not situated to more advantage, but it seemes it was built just where the old one was, which I believe he onely meant to repaire; this leads men into irremediable errors, and it saves but a very little.

The land about it is exceedingly addicted to wood, but the coldnesse of the place hinders the growth. Black cherry-trees prosper even to considerable timber, some being 80 foote long; they make also very handsome avenues. There is a pretty oval at the end of a faire walke, set about with treble rows of Spanish chesnut trees.

The gardens are very rare, and cannot be otherwise, having so skillful an artist to govern them as Mr. Cooke, who is, as to the mechanic part, not ignorant

in Mathematics, and pretends to Astrologie. There is an excellent collection of the choicest fruit.

. . . . .

30 Aug., 1681. From Wotton I went to see Mr. Hussey (at Sutton in Shere), who has a very pretty seate well water'd, neere my brother's. He is the neatest husband for curious ordering his domestic and field accommodations, and what pertains to husbandry, that I have ever seene, as to his granaries, tacklings, tooles, and utensills, ploughs, carts, stables, wood-piles, wood-house, even to hen-roosts and hog-troughs. Methought I saw old Cato or Varro in him; all substantial, all in exact order. The sole inconvenience he lies under, is the greate quantity of sand which the streame brings along with it, and fills his canals and receptacles for fish too soone. The rest of my time of stay at Wotton was spent in walking about the grounds and goodly woods, where I have in my youth so often entertain'd my solitude: and so on the 2d of Sept. I once more returned to my home.

. . . . .

30 Oct., 1682. Being my birthday, and I now entering my greate climacterical of 63, after serious recollections of the yeares past, giving Almighty God

thanks for all his mercifull preservations and forbearance, begging pardon for my sinns and unworthinesse, and his blessing and mercy on me the yeare entering, I went with my Lady Fox to survey her building, and give some directions for the garden at Chiswick; the architect is Mr. May; somewhat heavy and thick and not so well understood; the garden much too narrow, the place without water, neere an highway, and neere another greate house of my Lord Burlington, little land about it, so that I wonder at the expence; but women will have their will.

. . . . .

I went to Windsor, dining by the way at Chesewick (Chiswick), at Sir Stephen Fox's, where I found Sir Robert Howard (that universal pretender), and Signor Verrio, who brought his draught and designs for the painting of the staire-case of Sir Stephen's new house. . . . There was now the terrace brought almost round the old Castle; the grass made cleane, even, and curiously turf'd; the avenues to the new park, and other walkes, planted with elmes and limes, and a pretty canal, and receptacle for fowle; nor lesse observable and famous is the throwing so huge a quantity of excellent water to the enormous height of the Castle, for the use of the

whole house, by an extraordinary invention of Sir Samuel Morland.

. . . . .

I went to Kew to visite Sir Hen. Capell, brother to the late Earle of Essex; but he being gone to Cashioberry, after I had seene his garden and the alterations therein, I return'd home. He had repair'd his house, roof'd his hall with a kind of cupola, and in a niche was an artificial fountaine; but the roome seems to me over melancholy, yet might be much improv'd by having the walls well painted *a fresca*. The two greene houses for oranges and mirtles communicating with the roomes below, are very well contriv'd. There is a cupola made with pole-work betweene two elmes at the end of a walk, which being cover'd by plashing the trees to them, is very pretty: for the rest there are too many fir trees in the garden.

. . . . .

12 June, 1684. I went to advise and give directions about the building two streetes in Berkeley Gardens, reserving the house and as much of the garden as the breadth of the house. In the meane time I could not but deplore that sweete place (by far the most noble gardens, courts, and accommodations,

stately porticos, &c. any where about the towne) should be so much straighten'd and turn'd into tenements. But that magnificent pile and gardens contiguous to it, built by the late Lord Chancellor Clarendon, being all demolish'd, and design'd for Piazzas and buildings, was some excuse for my Lady Berkeley's resolution of letting out her ground also for so excessive a price as was offer'd, advancing neere £1000 per ann. in mere ground rents; to such a made intemperance was the age come of building about a citty, by far too disproportionate already to the nation; I having in my time seene it almost as large again as it was within my memory.

. . . . .

7 Aug., 1685. I went to see Mr. Wats, keeper of the Apothecaries Garden of Simples at Chelsea, where there is a collection of innumerable rarities of that sort particularly, besides many rare annuals, the tree bearing jesuits bark, which had don such wonders in quartan agues. What was very ingenious was the subterranean heate, conveyed by a stove under the conservatory, which was all vaulted with brick, so as he has the doores and windowes open in the hardest frosts, secluding only the snow.

. . . . .

I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallowfield in Berks, dining by the way at Mr. Graham's lodge at Bagshot; the house, new repair'd and capacious enough for a good family, stands in a Park.

Hence we went to Swallowfield; this house is after the antient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up antient hospitality, but the gardens and waters as elegant as 'tis possible to make a flat, by art and industrie, and no meane expence, my lady being so extraordinarily skill'd in the flowery part, and my lord in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seene a seate which shews more tokens of it than what is to be found here, not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seate, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manners of sweet shrubbs, that it perfumes the aire. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchin garden full of the most desireable plants; two very noble Orangeries well furnished; but above all, the canall and fishponds, the one fed with a white,

the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stor'd with fish, that for pike, carp, breame and tench, I never saw any thing approching it. We had at every meale carp and pike of size fit for the table of a Prince, and what added to the delight was to see the hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cooke standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have ben worth at London twenty shillings a piece. The waters are flagg'd about with *Calamus aromaticus*, with which my lady has hung a closet, that retains the smell very perfectly. There is also a certain sweete willow and other exotics: also a very fine bowling-greene, meadow, pasture, and wood; in a word, all that can render a country seate delightful. There is besides a well furnish'd library in the house.

. . . . .

24 Mar., 1688. I went with Sir Charles Littleton to Sheene, an house and estate given him by Lord Brouncker. . . .

After dinner we went to see Sir William Temple's neere to it; the most remarkable things are his orangerie and gardens, where the wall fruit trees are

most exquisitely nail'd and train'd, far better than I ever noted elsewhere.

There are many good pictures, especialy of Vandyke's, in both these houses, and some few statues and small busts in the latter.

From thence we went to Kew, to visite Sir Henry Capell's, whose orangerie and myrtelum are most beautifull and perfectly well kept. He was contriving very high palisados of reeds to shade his oranges during the summer, and painting those reeds in oil.

. . . . .

13 July, 1700. I went to Marden, which was originally a barren warren bought by Sir Robert Clayton, who built there a pretty house, and made such alteration by planting not only an infinite store of the best fruite, but so chang'd the natural situation of the hill, valleys and solitary mountains about it, that it rather represented some foreign country which would produce spontaneously pines, firs, cypress, yew, holly, and juniper; they were come to their perfect growth, with walks, mazes, &c. amongst them, and were preserv'd with the utmost care, so that I who had seene it some yeares before in its naked and barren condition, was in admiration of it.

. . . . .

31 Oct., 1705. I am this day arriv'd to the 85th year of my age. Lord, teach me so to number my days to come that I may apply them to wisdom.

John Evelyn died on Feb. 27, 1706: more than the majority of men, he had all through his long life applied his days to wisdom.

FINIS

131, 138. Alpinus, Prosper, b. 1553 at Marostica, state of Venice. 1580, followed the Consul George Ems, sent by the Republic to Egypt. The first European to see, at Cairo, and describe the coffee plant; he made better known the famous *Balsamum* of the Ancients. 1584, Doria, Prince of Amalfi, the Commander, appointed him Physician to the Fleet of Spain. Professor of Botany to the University of Padua, and enriched its garden with the plants brought from Egypt; d. at Padua, 1617. Chief works: *De Medicinâ Ægyptiorum*, lib. iv.; *De Balsamo Dialogus; De Plantis Egyptii; De Plantis Exoticis.* (Biog. Univers.)

129. Anguillara, Aluigi. Date and place of birth uncertain; travelled over the whole of Italy, Dalmatia, Illyria, Slavonia, Macedonia, Greece, Cyprus, Crete and Corfu. He botanised round Bologna in 1539, Pisa 1544 and 1545, and was a friend or pupil of Luca Ghini, whom he calls "Maestro" (see Biog. Universelle, tom. ii., art. by Du Petit Thouars). Author of *Semplici*, edited by Giovanni Marinello-Vinegia, Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1561—a Latin translation with notes, by C. Bauhin. Basle, 1593.

89. Bauhin, Caspar, b. at Basle 1550, d. 1624, studied under Fuchs; collected plants in Switzerland, Italy and France; Professor at Basle, 1580 Greek, 1589 Botany (see Haller and Sprengel). Works: *Pinax* and *Prodromus Theatri Botanici* (1620): fully distinguishes between Species and Genus; the description of a single species is developed into an art and becomes a diagnosis (Sachs). His Herbarium is still preserved at Basle (Meyer, iv. 267). Linnæus gave name Bauhinia to genus of Leguminosæ. Conrad Gesner's letters to Bauhin were edited by the latter. Basileæ, 1594. 8vo.

Bauhin, Johann, b. at Basle 1541, studied medicine

under father, a Protestant exile from France; travelled in Italy, Alps and south of France collecting *Historia Plantarum*, published 1650, 37 years after his death (3 vols., fol.), describes 5,000 plants in 40 classes—the first attempt at Systematic Botany (Sachs).

147. Buxtorfius, Johannes, b. 1564 in Westphalia; Orientalist; Professor of Hebrew and Chaldaic at Basle, where he died 1629. Works: *Lexicon Chaldaicum Thalmudicum et Rabbinicum;* Hebrew Bible with Rabbl. and Chaldc. Paraphrases; Via Massora; Hebrew and Chaldc. Dicty. and H. Grammar; Synagoga Judaica (Colln. of Modes and Ceremonies), Biblioth. Rabbinica, &c.

180. Camerarius, Rudolf Jacob, b. at Tübingen, 1665–1721. 1685, travelled two years over Europe; "the true discoverer of sexuality in plants" (Sachs). 1688, Professor and Director of Botanic Garden in Tübingen. 1695, succeeded his father as First Professor of University. Author of *De Sexu Plantarum Epistola* (1694), *R. J. Camerarii opuscula Botanici Argumenti*, J. C. Mikan, ed. Prague, 1797.

141. Cesalpino, Andrea (*Cæsalpinus*), b. at Arezzo 1519, d. 1603. First physician to Clement VIII.; pupil of Ghini and Professor at Pisa. Works: *Speculum artis medicæ Hippocraticum; De Plantis Libri xvi.*, Florence 1583, 4to.; *De Metallicis*, libri tres, Rome, 1596, 4to.; *Praxis universis medicinæ; Quæstionum peripateticarum Libri quinque*, Venice, 1596, 4to. Cesalpino's first book, *De Plantis*, "contains a full and connected exposition of the whole of Theoretical Botany. . . . The Doctrine of Metamorphosis appears in a more consistent and necessary form in Cesalpino than in the Botanists of the 19th Century before Darwin" (Sachs's *Hist. of Bot.*).

183. Clusius, Carolus (*Charles De l'Escluse*), b. at Arras,

Flanders, 1526; lived chiefly in Germany and Netherlands to avoid religious persecution. 1573, invited by Maxn. II. to Vienna and made superintendent of Royal Gardens. 1593, Professor at Leyden, where he died (1609), 84 years old. Translated Dodonæus's *Cruydeboeck* into French 1557. 1563-4, travelled with Graf Fugger in France, Belgium, Spain and Portugal. 1571, visited London; a friend of Drake. "None of his predecessors or contemporaries has more enriched Botany with new discoveries" (Meyer, iv.). Works:

1. Caroli Clusii Atrebatis variorum aliquot stirpium per Hispanias observatarum Historia. Antwerp. Plantin, 1576. 8vo. 299 Woodcuts.

2. Rariorum aliquot Stirpium per Paunoniam Austriam . . Historia, IV. Books. Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1583. 8vo. 364 Woodcuts.

3. Rariarum Plantarum Historia. Antwerp. Moretus, 1601. Folio.

4. Exoticorum Libri Decem. Ex off. Plant. 1605, folio.

5. Curae Posteriores. 1611. 4to.

129. Cordus, Euricius, b. 1486 in Hess (father of Valerius Cordus, b. 1515); correspondent of Erasmus; studied Medicine at Ferrara, 1527; became Professor of Med. at Marburg; translated Alexipharmaka and Theriaka of Nikandros into Latin verse, and wrote his book in German on Theriak, 1532; his Botanilogicon, published at Cologne in 1534; d. 1538 at Bremen (Meyer).

Cordus, Valerius, b. 1515; studied at Wittenberg 1535; his "Dispensatorium Pharmacorum Omnium" at Nüremberg. 1542, visited Padua, Ferrara and Bologna. Caught fever and died at Rome 1544, æt. 29. Works: "Annotationes ad Dioscoridem," published 5 years after his death, as appendix to the translation of Ruellius. Frankfort,

Christ. Egenolph, 1549, fol. 2nd edition, with Historiæ Stirpium (Lib. III.), Sylva, De Artificiosis Extractionibus and Compositiones medicinales (the same volume also contained Conrad Gesner's De Hortis Germaniæ, he editing the work); Argentorati (Strasburg), Jos. Rihelius, 1561. Fol. (2nd ed., 1563).

98, 144. Curtius, Benedictus Symphorianus, author of *Hortorum Libri xxx.* Lugduni, 1560. Folio.

143. Diodati, Giovanni, b. Lucca, c. 1576. Protestant, at age of 21 Professor of Hebrew at Geneva and (1619) represented Clergy of Geneva at Synod of Dort; appointed one of six to draw up Belgic Confession of Faith; translated Bible into Italian and French, and Father Paul's *History of Council of Trent* into French; d. 1649 at Geneva.

89, 120, etc. Dioscorides, Pedacius (or *Pedanius*). Greek writer on Materia Medica, b. at Anazarbus in Cicilia, and lived in reign of Nero. Travelled in Greece, Italy, Asia Minor and Gaul, and collected plants and information (especially as to Indian medical plants), from which he compiled his work on "Materia Medica" in 5 books, in which 500 to 600 plants are described. For sixteen centuries (to beginning of 17th century) this work was the authority on Botany and the Virtues of Plants; most celebrated MS. of Dioscorides, the "Cantacuzene Codex" (quoted by Mathiolus), is at Vienna, some of figures inserted by Dodoens in *Historia Stirpium*, an MS. of 9th century in Paris, used by Salmasius, has Arabic and Coptic names. Edit. Princeps, published by Aldus, Venice, 1499, fol. Paris, 1549, 8vo. Frankfurt, 1598, fol. Almost every herbalist and botanist of note, especially Mathiolus, has made commentaries upon Dioscorides. Last edition of Greek text by Sprengel (Leipsic, Kühn, 1899, 8vo.), also

Sibthorp—the highest critical authority—his work embodied by Sir J. E. Smith in *Prodromus Floræ Græcæ* and *Flora Græca*. In the 5th century the Nestorians established their schools of Medicine among the Arabs (Dr. Royle, Ch. Knight's *Cycl. of Biog.*).

Hartlib, Samuel (p. xv of Introduction). Sir Ernest Clarke, in his Cambridge Lectures on "The History of Agriculture" (1897–9), has proved that the work published by Samuel Hartlib in 1651, under the title of "Legacy of Husbandry," was written entirely (except 3 pp.) by Robert Child of Corpus College, Cambridge.

185. Herrera, Gabriel Alonso, a native of Talavera, Spain's great Agronome and Agricultural writer, called the New Columella, flourished 2nd half of 15th and beginning of 16th century. Professor at the University of Salamanca, he published, under patronage of Cardinal Cisneros, *Obra de Agricultura Copilada de Diversos Autores*, fol., Alcala, 1513 (black letter). Twenty-eight imperfect editions followed till the Sociedad Económica Matritense restored the text in their Agricultura General Corregida y Adicionada, 4 vols. 4to., Madrid, 1818. (Knight's *Cycl. of Biog.*)

128. Hesychius, Grammarian of Alexandria, c. 4th century A.D. (most learned of all ancient critics (Casaubon); author of Greek Lexicon; possibly a Christian. Eds. Alberti and Ruhnken, 2 vols., fol. Lug. Bat. 1746–66; Schmidt Supplem. 1857–64 (Sax. Onom., I., p. 464; Fabr. B. Gr. 4 c. 37).

129. De L'Obel (Lobelius), Matthias, b. at Lille 1538; studied Medicine under Rondeletius at Montpellier; practised at Antwerp and Delft; physician to Statthalter, William of Orange, after whose death in 1584 he settled for life in England, which he had probably visited already. His Patron

was Lord Zouch, wnose Gardens at Hackney he superintended, and whom he accompanied in 1598 when Ambassador to Copenhagen. James I. made him Royal Botanist. Died 1616, aged 78, at Highgate (see Meyer, iv., and Rd. Pulteney's Sketches of History of Botany). Works:

1. Stirpium Adversaria nova, in collaboration with Petrus Pena, Lond. 1570, 4to, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth; other editions 1571 and 1572; then enlarged at Antwerp, Christ. Plantin, 1576, folio; 6 editions at Leyden, Frankfurt and London before 1651.

2. Dilucidæ Simplicium Medicamentorum Explicationes et Stirpium, &c. Lond. 1605. Fol.

3. Plantarum Sex Stirpium Historia. Antwerp, Ch. Plantin, 1576. Fol.

4. Kruydtboeck. Antwerp, Plantin, 1581. Fol. Part I., 1619, Woodcuts. Part II.

5. Stirpium Illustrationes (left unfinished by Lobel. Parkinson used part of it, without permission). Edited by Wm. How, London, 1655. 4to.

144. Maimonides (*Moses Ben Maimon Ben Joseph*), b Cordova, c. 1131–9. Arab and Jewish Physician and Philosopher, Theologian and Expounder of Law. In 15th cent. his books, translated from Arab. and Hebrew, widely read in Latin: "*Guide of Erring*," Compendium of Logic; Commenty. on Mishna, and Exposn. of 613 Laws of Moses. Translated Avicenna's Canon into Hebrew; wrote in prose Hebrew Mishne Thora, or Iad Chasaka = The Work—a complete system in 982 chapters of the Talmudic Judaism. d. 1201–9, buried in Palestine.

Mattioli, Pierandre (*Petrus Andreas Matthiolus*), b. at Siena 1501. Physician at Court of Ferdinand I. His Herbal (in interests of Medicine rather than Botany) is a Com-

mentary on Dioscorides; first Italian edition 1544 (Venice); Latin 1554, with Woodcuts; 1562, Bohemian and German (Prague), translated by Georg Handsch (with larger illustrations). French translation, by Antoine du Pinet (Lyons: Gabr. Cotier, 2nd edn. 1566). Opera Matthioli, by Caspar Bauhin. Basle, 1598. Fol. His Commentary went through more than 60 editions. d. 1577. (Tiraboschi and Meyer, iv.)

98. Porta, Giambattista, b. at Naples, c. 1539. 155$\frac{8}{9}$, his (1) Magia Naturalis appeared. English translation, London, 1658, fol., quoted without acknowledgment by Bacon. Friend of Cardinal Luigi d'Este; founded an Academia de' Segretti in his house at Naples. Pope Paul V. summoned him to Rome, and suppressed his Academy. He was the creature of the *Doctrine of Signatures* in scientific form; he leant too much to the secret, mysterious, superstitious side of things. d. 1615. (Meyer iv., 438–444.)

2. De Furtivis Literarum Notis, vulgo de Ziferis.

3. De Distillatione. Rome, 1608.

4. De Aeris Transmutationibus, libri quatuor. Naples, 1609.

5. Phytognomica octo libris contenta (on plants, animals, metals). Naples, 1588. Fol. Woodcuts. De humana physiognomia (anticipation of Lavater).

6. Villæ, libri xii. Frankfurt, 1592. 4to. Naples, 1583. 4to.

7. Pomarium (imperfect).

190, 245. Rapinus, Renatus (*Rene Rapin*). A French Jesuit Father, Latin Poet, Critic and Theologian. b. 1621 at Tours, d. 1687. His *Hortorum Libri iv.* (Paris, 1665, 4to.)—reprinted, with improvements, 1666, 12mo., and edited by Brotier (1780, 12mo.)—was twice translated into English verse, by John Evelyn, Jr., London 1673, 8vo., and

by James Gardiner, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, 8vo., 1706, Cambridge.

142. Largus, Scribonius, physician in age of Augustus and Tiberius; wrote de Compositione Medicamentorum liber jam pridem Io. Ruellii opera e tenebris erutus, &c. Basiliæ apud Andream Cratandrum, 1529. 8vo. (Brunet, Meyer iv., p. 251 (Ruellius).)

xvi (Introduction). The full title of Swift's "Battle of the Books" is, "An Account of a Battel Between the Antient and Modern Books in St. James's Library."

INDEX

Aaron, 104, 115, 142.
Abdachim, 138.
Abdella, 138.
Abydenus, 99.
Acetaria, 173 *n.*
Achilles Statius, 182.
Achmetes, 116.
Adam, 21, 115.
Adominus, Gardens of, 178.
Adonidis, 178.
Adrian, 124.
Ægineta, 147.
Ægyptians, 101.
Ælian, 179.
Ælias Spartianus, 179.
Ætius, 147.
Africanus, Scipio, 179.
Agrippa, 18.
Agrippina, 179.
Ahasuerus, 96–97.
Albury, 243.
Alcinous, 24, 178.
Aldobrandino, 179, 225–226.
Alexander, 21, 106, 126, 178.
Alexandria, 27, 178.
Alpinus, 125, 131, 138, 257.
America, 89, 112, 154, 157, 181.
Amos, 119, 132.
Amsterdam, 180.
Anet, 180.
Angelo, M., 234.
Anguillara, 129, 257.
Anjou, 48.
Anth. Wood, 242 *n.*
Antoninus, 10, 179.
Antwerp, 201.
Apennines, 235.
Apocalypse, 117.
Apollonius, 128.
Apples, 47–48.
    Golden Pippin, 47.
    Kentish Pippin, 47.
Apricots, 47.
    Brussels, 47.
    Masculin, 47.
Apuleia, 124.
Arabia, 120, 138–139, 178.
Arabians, 131, 138.
Aranxues, 180.
Arceuil, 214.
Archimedes, 106.
Ardebil, 181.
Arias Montanus, 127.
Aristotle, 11, 100, 117, 146.
Arlington, Lord, 243, 245.
Armenia, 27.
Arsacia, 181.
Artaxerxes, 97.
Artemidorus, 116.
Arundel, Earl of, 235.
Ascalon, 121.
Assyria, 25, 33, 34.
Athenæus, 127, 129, 152, 154, 178
    179.
Athens, 19, 178.
Atticas, 16, 17.
Augustus, 7, 18.
Azcapuzulco, 181.

Babylon, 22, 95, 99, 106, 126, 178.

Bacon, Francis, 190, 221, 261.
—— Nicholas, 89, 113 *n.*
Bagshot, 253.
Baiæ, 179.
Barbados, 241.
Barberini, 179.
Basil, 180.
Bastille, 203.
Bauhin, 89 *n.*, 129, 257.
Bedford, Countess of, 50.
Bellevue, 180.
Bellonius, 119, 120, 132.
Belvedere, 179, 206, 227.
Berkeley, Lady, 2 2.
—— Lord, 245.
—— Gardens, 251.
Berks., 253.
Bernier, 23.
Beugensor, 180.
Beza, 146.
Bisnaguer, 157.
Blois, 219, 220.
Blyth, Walter, 192.
Bois de Vincennes, 203.
Bologna, 180, 233.
Bonne, 181.
Bopart, 242 and *n.*
Borghese, 224.
—— Cardinal, 225.
Borneo, 121.
Bosco, 180.
Bossius, 179.
Box Hill, 241.
Brache, Tico, 181.
Brazil, 181.
Brook, Lady, 238.
—— Lord, 181.
Brouncker, Mr. Hen., 247.
—— Lord, 254.
Browne, Sir T., 176, 244.
Evelyn's Letter to, 173–182.
Garden of Cyrus, 89–112.
Miscellanies, 113–162.
Of Garlands, 151–157.
On Grafting, 158–162.
Plants in Scripture, 113–150.
Vulgar Errours, 176.
Brussells, 180, 201, 202.
Burghers, 242 *n.*
Burghesean, 179.
Burlington, Lord, 250.
Buxtorfius, 147, 258.

Cæsar, 16.
Cæsalpinus, 141, 258.
Cairo, 138.
Calendarium Hortense, 70 *n.*, 184.
Caligula, 8.
Callot, 217.
Camerarius, 180, 258.
Campo Marzo, 222.
Canticles, 107, 128, 129.
Capel, Sir H., 247, 251, 255.
Capraroula, 180.
Cardinal, Palais, 180.
Carthage, 27, 181.
Cashiobury, 248, 251.
Caspian Sea, 181.
Cassipedis, 179.
Cassuin, 181.
Caterus, 180.
Cato, 26, 90, 179, 191, 249.
Cauigny, 180.
Chaldee, 140.
Champagne, 180.
Chan, The, 181.
Charles II., 39.
—— V., 209.
—— King, 241 *n.*
Chasimir, 23.
Chelsea, 252.
Chevereuse, 218.
China, 121, 153, 181.
Chinese, 53, 54, 157.
Christina, 181.
Chronicles, 132 *n.*
Cicero, 179, 228.
Clarendon, Lady, 185, 253.
—— Lord, 252.
Clayton, Sir R., 255.
Clement VIII., 179.
Cleopatria, 124, 137.
Clusius, 183, 258.
Coldbrook, 248.
Cologne, 181.
Columella, 191.

Como, 180.
Condi, 218.
Constantine, 179.
Cooke, Mr., 248.
Copenhagen, 181.
Cordus, 129, 258, 259.
Corfu, 124.
Corinth, 152.
Cornelius' Gardens, 179.
Coronary Garden, 173 *n.*
Couranet, 180.
Cowley, 186.
The Garden, 69–83.
Cracovia, 181.
Cromwell, 241.
Cuma, 179.
Curtius de Hortis, 98, 99, 144, 259.
Cusco, 181.
Cyprus, 120, 127.
Cyrus, 21, 96, 97, 178.

Damascus, 23, 25, 27, 31.
Dampien, 180.
Daniel, 126.
David, 132, 139.
Darwin, E., 90 *n.*
De Creete, 240.
D'Este's Gardens, 179.
D'Oria, 179.
De Vico's, 179.
Democritus, 178.
Depont, 180.
Deptford, 186, 192.
Descartes, 11.
Diana Saguntina, 139.
Didymus, 99.
Dioclesian, 7, 179.
Diodati, 143, 146, 259.
Diodorus, 95, 138, 178.
Diogenes Laertius, 15, 178.
Dioscorides, 89, 120, 121, 123, 131, 137, 140, 141, 143, 146, 259.
Dolabella, 179.
Dorking, 200.
Downe, Dr., 50.
Drusi, 179.
Durdens, 181.
Durer, A., 217.

Eden, 21.
Egypt, 101, 121, 125, 131, 133, 154, 178.
Egyptians, 101, 151.
Elias, 139.
Elysian Fields, 178.
Elysium Brittannicum, 173 *n.*, 175.
Emanuel de Sa, 147.
England, 36, 37, 39, 46.
Epicureans, 12, 14, 15.
Epicurus, the Gardens of, 3–65, 11, 19, 20, 76, 178.
Epire, 27.
Esquiline, 179.
Essex, Earl, 247, 248, 251.
Essonne, 180.
Europe, 53.
Eusebius, 99.
Eustachius, 99.
Euston, 243, 245.
Evelyn, George, 181, 237.
—— John, 69; *Acetaria*, 173 *n.*; *Elysium Brittannicum*, 173 *n.*, 175; *Kal. Hortense*, 70, 113 *n.*, 151 *n.*, 156 *n.*, 158 *n.*; Garden Letters, 173–192; Letter to Dr. Browne, 173–182; Diary, 199–256; Letter to Earl of Sandwich, 182–186; *Miscellaneous Writings*, 173 *n.*; *of Sallets*, 173 *n.*; *Sylva*, 187, 190; *Hist. of Chalcography*, 189.
Ezekiel, 116.

Fanelli, 242.
Farnese Gardens, 179.
Fez, 181.
Figs, 46, 64.
Flanders, 180, 185, 238.
Florence, 179, 222.
Fontainebleau, 37, 38, 180, 212.
Formia, 179.
Fox, Lady, 250.
—— Sir F., 250.
France, 36, 37, 39, 40, 180.
Franche Comte, 45.
Francis I., 209.

Frescati, 179.
Fresnes, Chasteau de, 180.
Froment, 180.

Gaillon, 180.
Galen, 124, 131, 147, 148, 152.
Garicius, 180.
Garlands, of, 151–157, 173 *n.*, 197.
Gascony, 37.
Gassendi, 76.
Geneva, 150.
Genoa, 179, 220.
Georges, 28, 31.
Germany, 180
Giusti's Gardens, 179, 236.
Gordian, 179.
Grafting, 134.
—— *Observations on*, 158–162.
Graham, Mr., 253.
Grapes, 45.
  Arboyse, 45.
  Burgundy, 45.
  Chasselas, 45.
  Frontignacs, 45.
  Grizelin, 46.
  Muscat, 46.
  Rhodes, 122.
Greece, 25, 26, 27, 59.
Grogning, 181.
Grotius, 146.
Guildford, 200.
Guyse, 218.

Hackney, 238.
Haff, 200.
Hague, 180, 201.
Ham, 247.
Hampton Court, 241.
Hartlib, S., 192, 259.
Harvey, Dr. W., 89 *n.*
Hatfield, 181.
Hebrew, 146.
Hecla, 181.
Heidelberg, 180, 181.
Henry II. of France, 7.
Henry IV., 209.
Heraclitus, 19.
Herod, 137.
Herodotus, 125
Herrera, 185.
Hertfordshire, 50, 248.
Hesperides, 24, 178.
Hesychius, 128, 260
Hieron, 178.
Hippocrates, 90, 111, 152.
Hispania, Nova, 157, 181.
Hobbes, 11.
Hofft, 180.
Holbein, 247.
Holland, 36, 40, 180.
Holstein, 181.
Homer, 24, 25, 97, 112, 114, 128, 182.
Horace, 16, 18, 41, 62.
Horimburg, 180.
Hosea, 119.
Howard, R., 250.
Howard's, 181.
Hubert, 180.
Hundius, 180.
Hussey, 249.
Hyde Park, 205.

Imperiale Gardens, 179.
India, 22, 123, 153, 157, 181.
Isaiah, 121, 131.
Ispahan, 181.
Israelite, 121, 125.
Isslings, 180.
Italy, 27, 36, 38, 39, 124, 233, 237, 247.
—— Gardens in, 179.

Jacob, 137.
James, 114.
Jardin Royale, 180, 203.
Jeremy, 143.
Jericho, 126, 138.
Jerome, 118.
Jesuits, 180.
Job, 115, 140, 149.
John, St., 124.
Jonah, 118.
Josephus, 95 *n.*, 137, 142.
Judæa, 117, 119, 131, 133, 137, 138, 147.

Jude, 114.
Junius, 146.
Jupiter Thyræus, 151.
—— Limeneus, 151.
Justinus, 137, 229.

Kalendarium Hortense, 70, 184, 186, 196.
Kensington Palace, 241 *n.*
Kew, 247, 251, 255.
King Charles, 241 *n.*
Kings, Book of, 128, 132.
Kingston, 200.
Kirby, 181.

Laertius, D., 15, 178.
Lamiani, 179.
Laocoon, 205, 227.
Largus, 142, 262.
Lauderdale, Duke of, 247.
Laurembergius, 135, 149.
Laurentine, G., 179.
Lazarolli, 57.
Leicester, Earl of, 238, 247.
Leyden, 180.
Liancourt, 180.
Liege, 180.
Lincolnshire, 185.
Lisles, Lord, 247.
Littleton, Sir C., 254.
Lobelius, 129, 260.
Lodovisian, 179, 223.
Loggan, 242 *n.*
London, 39.
Longueville, 218.
Loraine, 180.
Loudon's, 242 *n.*
Louis XII., 220.
Louvre, 203, 218.
Low Countries, 39.
Lucretius, 15, 16, 18.
Luculla, 179.
Lucullus, 7, 26.
Luke, 132.
Luther, 143.
Luxemberg, 180, 213, 217.
Lysander, 178.
Lyth Hill, 199.

Madrid, 37.
Mæcenas, 16, 17, 179.
Mahometans, 157.
Maimonides, 144, 260.
Maison, President, 236.
—— *Rustic*, 192.
Maisons, 180.
Mantua, 235.
Marden, 235.
Markham, G., 192.
Martial, 154, 179.
Marvell, A., 165–170.
The Garden, 165.
The Mower, 169.
Masinissa, 178.
Mathæo, 179.
Matthew, St., 146.
Mattioli, 261.
Maturæa, 133, 138.
Maurice, Count, 181.
May, Hugh, 245, 250.
Mazarin, 179.
Mecha, 138.
Media, 31, 33, 34.
Medicean, 179.
Medici, Mary di, 205, 213.
—— Palazzo di, 222.
Medina, 138.
Medon, 180.
Mexico, 55, 181.
Mickleham, 241.
Mithridates, 178.
Mogul, Great, 181.
Mollet, 181.
Molonists, 14.
Mondragone, 179.
Montalta, 179.
Monte Cavallo, 224, 226.
Montezuma, 55, 181.
Montpellier, 180.
More Park, xx, xxi, lxvi.
Morine, Mons., 217.
Morines, 180.
Moor Park, xx, xxi, 50–53.
Morland, Sir S., 244, 246, 251.
Moses, 114.
Mount Parnassus, 234.
Munster, Bishop of, 43.

Nancy, 180.
Nanteuile, 180.
Naples, 124, 179, 243 *n.*
Nautilus, 178.
Nebuchodonosor, 95, 116, 178.
Nectarines, 45.
  French, 45.
  Murry, 45.
Negro, H. del, 179.
Negroné, Palazzo, 220.
Nero, 8, 27.
Nevers, 218.
Nile, 125.
Nimrod, 95.
Ninas, 7.
Nonesuch, 242.
Norfolk, 244.
Normandy, 48.
Norwich, 162, 177.
Nova Hispania, 157.
Numa, 179.
Numantia, 27.
Numidia, 27.
Nysa, 178.

Of Earth and Vegetation, 245.
Orange, Prince of, 38.
—— trees, 59, 60.
d'Orias, Prince, 221.
Orleans, Duke of, 180, 213.
Oroenendael, 180.
Ovid, 94.
Oxford, 238, 242 *n.*

Padua, 180, 235.
Palais, Cardinal, 218.
Palissy, 192.
Palladio, 191, 245.
Pall Mall (*Paille Maille*), 218 *n.*, 221.
Panchaia, 178.
Paradise, 21, 94, 125, 178.
Paris, 180, 203, 205, 206, 236, 237.
Parma, 236.
Paston, Mr., 173
Paul, St., 116, 129, 130, 134.
Pausanias, 59, 138.
Pausilippe, 243.
Peaches, 44.
Pears, 47.
Peiresc, 180.
Pekin, 181.
Pembroke, Earl, 240.
Penshurst, 181, 238.
Persia, 27, 29, 33, 34, 112, 181.
Phavorinus, 146.
Phenicia, 24.
Philo Judæus, 122.
Philosophical Transactions, 192.
Philostratus, 151.
Picardy, 180.
Pidaux, 180.
Pierce, 240.
Pincius, Mons., 222.
Pio, Cardinal, 179.
Pisa, 180.
Pitti, Palazzo, 179.
Plan of a Royal Garden, 193–198.
Plato, 11.
Platts, Sir Hugh, 192.
Plessis, du, 218.
Pliny, 90, 95, 121, 122, 124, 137, 139, 140, 147, 154, 178, 179, 191, 223, 227.
Plums, 47.
Plutarch, 97 *n.*
Poggio Gardens, 179.
Poictiers, 180.
Poliphele, 182.
Pollux, 154.
Pompey, 17, 179.
Pontus, 27.
Porassen, 181.
Porta, 98, 261.
Portugal, 38, 179.
Pratoline, 233.
Praxiteles, 126.
Pretor Hundius, 180.
Privy Garden, 183.
Prosper Alpinus, 125, 131, 138.
Psalms, 132, 139.
Pythagoras, 18.

Queen's Pine, 241.
Quincuncial Lozenge, 87, 98, 99.
Quincunx, xxvi, 97, *et seq.*

Quintilian, 87, 100.
Quirinal Gardens, 179.

Rabbinical Lexicon, 147.
Rapinus, 190, 245.
—— *Hortorum*, 190, 245.
Richelieu, 180, 207, 218, 220.
Rincy, 180.
Roman Gardens, 179.
Rome, 25, 26, 27, 154, 208, 222, 227, 229, 232.
Rookwood, Sir T., 243.
Rose, Mr., 241 *n.*
Rosny, 180.
Royal, Jardin, 180.
Royal Society, 245.
Rubens, 213.
Ruel, 180, 207–208.
Ryswick, 180.

Sabean Gardens, 178.
St. Cloe (Cloud), 180, 205.
St. Germain, 180, 205, 209, 213.
St. James, 114.
St. Jude, 114.
St. Matthew, 146.
St. Omers, 185.
St. Paul, 116.
Salisburgh, 180.
Sallets, of, 173 *n.*, 196.
Sallust, 223.
Samos, 178.
Sandwich, Earl of, 182–186.
Sayes Court, 186, 239.
Scaliger, 140.
Schamachie, 181.
Scholtzius, 180.
Scipio, 7, 179.
Scribonius Largus, 142, 262.
Scripture, Gardens in, 182.
—— Plants in, 113–150.
Seine, 237.
Semiramis, 7, 22, 95, 178.
Seneca, 179.
Seraglio, 181.
Severus, 124.
Sevile, 38.
Sfondrati, 180
Shakspeare, 8.
Sheba, 137.
Sheen, 37, 45, 247 254.
Sidney, Lady Dorothy, 238.
—— Sir Philip, 182, 238.
Sion, 181.
Smith, Mr. R., 238.
Socrates, 10.
Solomon, 96, 116, 119, 129, 132 137, 178.
Southwell, Sir R., 245.
Spain, 39, 180, 182, 184, 221.
Spanish seeds, 185.
Spencer, 182.
Spensherst, 181.
Statius, 182.
Stidolph, Sir F., 241.
Stoics, 12, 13.
Strabo, 21, 23, 122, 138.
Stratton, 245.
Strozzi, Palazzo di, 222.
Suidas, 146.
Sunderland, Earl, 238.
—— Lady, letter to, 186–189
Surat, 181.
Surrey, 181, 200.
Sutton in Shere, 249.
Sydon, 178.
Sylla, 17.
Sylva, 187, 190.
Syria, 27, 124.
Syriac, 146.
Swallowfield, 253.
Sweden, 181.

Tabernacle, 109.
Tarentine Gardens, 179.
Tarquin, 179.
Temple, Sir Wm., 247, 254.
Theocritus, 101.
Theophrastus, 89, 100, 120, 129, 131, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 147, 154, 178.
Thuilleries, 180, 204–205.
Timplan, 181.
Titus's Baths, 227–228.
Tivoli, 179.
Toledo, 180.

Tombe, Mr., 239.
Tours, 221.
Transactions, Philosophical, 192.
Tremellius, 119, 143 150.
Tuke, Sir B., 247.
Tunis, 181.
Turkey, Garden in, 181.
Tusculum, 179.
Tusser, 192.
Tyber, 233.

Ulmarini, Count, 235.
—— Gardens, 179.
Ulysses, 178.
Upcott, 173 *n.*
Urbino, Duke of, 179.

Vacenza, 179.
Valerie, 180.
Van Leyden, 217.
Varro, 41, 98, 100, 191, 249.
Vatican, 224, 227.
Veau, de, 218.
Vendôme, 218.
Verona, 179, 236.
Verrio, Signor, 250.
Veslingius, 235.
Vienna, 180.
Villa Borghese, 224, 229.
—— Laura, 178.
Villiers, 180.
Vincenza, 235.
Virgil, 16, 28, 29, 31, 70, 75, 100.
Vitruvius, 108.
Vraneburgh, 181.
Vratislauia, 181.
Vulgar Errours (Browne's), 176.

Wadham College, 239, 242.
Warsovia, 181.
Watts, Mr., 252.
Whitehall, 183.
Wilkins, Dr., 239.
Wilton, 240.
Wiltshire, 40.
Windsor, 250.
Wood, Anth., 242 *n.*
Worcester Park, 243.
Wotton, 173 *n.*, 188, 192, 199, 237, 249.
Wotton, Mr., Letter to, 190–192.

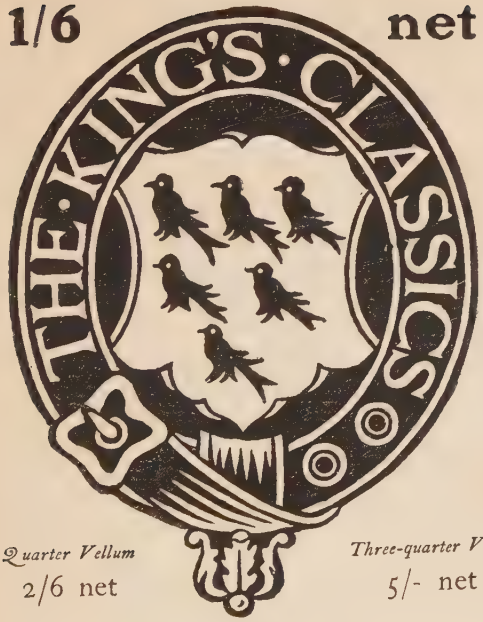
Xenophon, 21, 97.

Zaccheus, 133.
Zoroaster, 95.

Richard Clay & Sons, Limited, London and Bungay.

Boards or Cloth

1/6 net



Quarter Vellum
2/6 net

Three-quarter Vellum
5/- net

CHATTO & WINDUS

111 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.

January 1909

A CONCISE LIST OF

THE KING'S CLASSICS

GENERAL EDITOR: PROFESSOR I. GOLLANCZ, Litt.D.

ALTHOUGH The King's Classics are to be purchased for 1/6 net per volume, the series is unique in that

(1) the letterpress, paper, and binding are unapproached by any similar series.

(2) "Competent scholars in every case have supervised this series, which can therefore be received with confidence."—*Athenæum.*

(3) With few exceptions, the volumes in this series are included in no similar series, while several are copyright.

THE KING'S CLASSICS

UNDER THE GENERAL EDITORSHIP OF PROFESSOR I. GOLLANCZ, LITT.D.

"Right Royal Series."—*Literary World.*

"We note with pleasure that competent scholars in every case have supervised this series, which can therefore be received with confidence."—*Athenæum.*

"The name of Professor I. Gollancz has been at various times associated with a large number of noteworthy works in literature, but it is doubtful whether he has ever done a finer, yet less obtrusive, work of popular education than that associated with his general editorship of 'The King's Classics.' . . . This venture has important and well-defined aims. It seeks to introduce many important works of literature that have not been readily accessible in a cheap form, or not hitherto rendered into English. It stands first and last for pure scholarship. Each volume is edited by some expert scholar, and contains a summary introduction, dealing with the principal facts of the literary history of the book; while at the end are added copious explanatory notes and a carefully-compiled index. Never is the man who reads to learn forgotten.

At the same time modern popular classics, more especially such as have not yet been adequately or at all annotated, are not excluded from the series. In fact, 'The King's Classics' are in the main representative of Professor Gollancz's own ideal of what such a library should be, for here and there it will be observed with pleasure that he steps deliberately out of the ordinary track, and includes in his series several modern but invaluable books that have never seen printer's ink under similar auspices. . . .

The literary importance of these volumes cannot be questioned, and when it is added that each is bound in a peculiarly effective scheme of grey blue and white imitation vellum, all people who love dainty associations with the *format* of their books should remember that 'The King's Classics' have every claim for their consideration and approval."—*Standard.*

The "King's Classics" are printed on antique laid paper, 16mo. (6 × 4½ inches), gilt tops. Each volume has a frontispiece, usually in photogravure.

Quarter bound, antique grey boards, **1/6** net.
Red Cloth, **1/6** net.
Quarter Vellum, grey cloth sides, **2/6** net.
Special three-quarter Vellum, Oxford side-papers, gilt tops, silk marker, **5/-** net.

*** Nos. 2, 20 and 24 are double volumes. Price, Boards or Cloth, **3/-** net; Quarter Vellum, **5/-** net; special three-quarter Vellum, **7/6** net.

NOTE.—*In response to many applications, the publishers have arranged to supply school-masters requiring volumes in this series for class use with not fewer than 25 copies of any one title, in stout paper covers, price 1/- net. Double volumes 2/- net.*

SHORT LIST

ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY.

Apuleius, Cupid and Psyche, etc. Adlington's trans. No. 12.

Asser, The Life of King Alfred. No. 57.

Benedict (Saint), The Rule of. No. 59.

Boniface (Saint), English Correspondence of. No. 53.

Browning (Robert), Men and Women. 2 *vols.* Nos. 26, 27.

Bury (Richard de), The Love of Books (Philobiblon). No. 1.

Calderon, Six Dramas of. Translated by Edward FitzGerald. *Double volume.* No. 2.

Cavalier to his Lady, The. No. 56.

Charlemagne, Early Lives of. No. 22.

Chatelaine of Vergi, The. No. 63.

Chaucer, The Prologue, and Minor Poems. *In modern English by* Professor Skeat. No. 47.

CHAUCER, The Knight's Tale. *In modern English.* No. 8.

CHAUCER, The Man of Law's Tale, etc. „ „ No. 9.

CHAUCER, The Prioress's Tale, etc. „ „ No. 10.

CHAUCER, The Legend of Good Women „ „ No. 41.

CHAUCER, The Parliament of Birds, and the House of Fame. *In modern English.* No. 48.

CICERO, Friendship, Old Age, and Scipio's Dream. No. 23.

COINCI (GAUTIER DE), Of the Tumbler of Our Lady. No. 62.

DANIEL and DRAYTON, Delia and Idea. No. 60.

DANTE, The Vita Nuova. Italian text with D. G. ROSSETTI's translation on the opposite pages. No. 46.

DANTE, Early Lives of. No. 14.

DEKKER (THOMAS), The Gull's Hornbook. No. 19.

EIKON BASILIKE. No. 5.

ELIOT (GEORGE), Silas Marner. No. 30.

EVELYN (JOHN), The Life of Margaret Godolphin. No. 13.

FITZGERALD (EDWARD), Polonius. No. 16. [See *Calderon.*

FULK FITZ-WARINE, The Romance of. No. 11.

GASKELL (MRS.), Cranford. No. 49.

GOLDSMITH, The Vicar of Wakefield. No. 31.

ICELANDIC, TRANSLATIONS FROM THE. No. 58.

JOCELYN OF BRAKELOND, The Chronicle of. No. 3.

KINGS' LETTERS. Nos. 6, 7, 51, 52.

LAMB (CHARLES), The Essays of Elia. *Two volumes.* Nos. 54, 55.

LANGLAND, The Vision of Piers the Plowman. *In modern English by* Professor SKEAT. No. 18.

MANNING (MISS), The Household of Sir Thomas More. No. 33.

Mediæval Lore. No. 17.

Monmouth, Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of. No. 21.

More (Sir Thomas), Utopia. No. 40.

More (Sir Thomas), The Four Last Things. No. 44.

Morris (William), The Defence of Guenevere, etc. No. 25.

Nun's Rule, The, or Ancren Riwle. *In modern English. Double volume.* No. 20.

Pearl. With a translation into Modern English by Professor I. Gollancz. No. 50.

Pettie (George), The Petite Pallace. *Two volumes.* Nos. 36, 37.

Pisan (Christine de), The Book of the Duke of True Lovers. No. 61.

Poe (E. A.), Poems. No. 28.

Poets Royal of England and Scotland. No. 39.

Reade (Charles), Peg Woffington. No. 32.

Roland, The Song of. No. 45.

Roper (William), The Life of Sir Thomas More. No. 4.

Sappho : One Hundred Lyrics. By Bliss Carman. No. 34.

Shakespeare, The Sonnets. No. 29.

Swift, The Battle of the Books, with Extracts from the Literature of the Phalaris Controversy. No. 42.

Symonds (J. A.), Wine, Women, and Song. No. 35.

Temple (Sir W.), On the Gardens of Epicurus, etc. No. 43.

Walpole (Horace), The Castle of Otranto. No. 38.

White (James), The Falstaff Letters. No. 15.

Wordsworth, The Prelude. *Double volume.* No. 24.

DETAILED LIST

1. THE LOVE OF BOOKS: being the Philobiblon of RICHARD DE BURY.

Translated by E. C. THOMAS. Frontispiece, Seal of Richard de Bury (as Bishop of Durham).

2. SIX DRAMAS OF CALDERON.

Translated by EDWARD FITZGERALD. Editor, H. OELSNER, M.A., Ph.D. Frontispiece, Portrait of Calderon, from an etching by M. EGUSQUIZA. [*Double volume.*

3. THE CHRONICLE OF JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND, MONK OF ST. EDMUNDSBURY: a Picture of Monastic and Social Life in the XIIth Century.

Newly translated, from the original Latin, with notes, table of dates relating to the Abbey of St. Edmundsbury, and index, by L. C. JANE, M.A. Introduction by the Right Rev. Abbot GASQUET. Frontispiece, Seal of Abbot Samson (A.D. 1200). (See No. 20.)

4. THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE, Knight.

By his son-in-law, WILLIAM ROPER. With letters to and from his famous daughter, Margaret Roper. Frontispiece, Portrait of Sir Thomas More, after Holbein.

5. EIKON BASILIKE: or, The King's Book.

Edited by EDWARD ALMACK, F.S.A. Frontispiece, Portrait of King Charles I. This edition, which has been printed from an advance copy of the King's Book seized by Cromwell's soldiers, is the first inexpensive one for a hundred years in which the original spelling of the first edition has been preserved.

6, 7. KINGS' LETTERS.

Part I. Letters of the Kings of England, from Alfred to the Coming of the Tudors, newly edited from the originals by Robert Steele, F.S.A. Frontispiece, Portrait of Henry V.

Part II. From the Early Tudors, with the love-letters of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, and with frontispiece, Portrait of Anne Boleyn. (See also Nos. 51, 52.)

8. CHAUCER'S KNIGHT'S TALE, or Palamon and Arcite.

In modern English by Professor Skeat, Litt.D. Frontispiece, "The Canterbury Pilgrims," from an illuminated MS.

9. CHAUCER'S MAN OF LAW'S TALE, Squire's Tale, and Nun's Priest's Tale.

In modern English by Professor Skeat, Litt.D. Frontispiece rom an illuminated MS.

10. CHAUCER'S PRIORESS'S TALE, Pardoner's Tale, Clerk's Tale, and Canon's Yeoman's Tale.

In modern English by Professor Skeat, Litt.D. Frontispiece, "The Patient Griselda," from the well-known fifteenth-century picture of the Umbrian School in the National Gallery.

11. THE ROMANCE OF FULK FITZ-WARINE.

Newly translated from the Anglo-French by Alice Kemp-Welch, with an introduction by Professor Brandin. Frontispiece, Whittington Castle in Shropshire, the seat of the Fitzwarines.

12. THE STORY OF CUPID AND PSYCHE.

From "The Golden Ass" of Apuleius, translated by W. Adlington (1566), edited by W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D. With frontispiece representing the "Marriage of Cupid and Psyche," after a gem now in the British Museum.

13. THE LIFE OF MARGARET GODOLPHIN.

By JOHN EVELYN, the famous diarist. Re-edited from the edition of Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. Frontispiece, Portrait of Margaret Godolphin engraved on copper.

14. EARLY LIVES OF DANTE.

Comprising Boccaccio's Life of Dante, Leonardo Bruni's Life of Dante, and other important contemporary records.

Translated and edited by the Rev. PHILIP H. WICKSTEED. Frontispiece, The Death-mask of Dante.

15. THE FALSTAFF LETTERS.

By JAMES WHITE, possibly with the assistance of CHARLES LAMB, *cf. the Introduction*. Frontispiece, Sir John Falstaff dancing to Master Brook's fiddle, from the original edition.

16. POLONIUS, a Collection of Wise Saws and Modern Instances.

By EDWARD FITZGERALD. With portrait of Edward FitzGerald from the miniature by Mrs. E. M. B. RIVETT-CARNAC as frontispiece ; notes and index. Contains a preface by EDWARD FITZGERALD, on Aphorisms generally.

17. MEDIÆVAL LORE.

From Bartholomæus Anglicus. Edited with notes, index and glossary by ROBERT STEELE. Preface by the late WILLIAM MORRIS. Frontispiece, an old illumination, representing Astrologers using Astrolabes.

The book is drawn from one of the most widely-read works of mediæval times. Its popularity is explained by its scope, which comprises explanations of allusions to natural objects met with in Scripture and elsewhere. It was, in fact, an account of the properties of things in general.

18. THE VISION OF PIERS THE PLOWMAN.

By WILLIAM LANGLAND ; *in modern English by* Professor SKEAT, Litt.D. Frontispiece, "God Speed the Plough," from an old MS.

19. THE GULL'S HORNBOOK.

By Thomas Dekker. Editor, R. B. McKerrow. Frontispiece, The nave of St. Paul's Cathedral at the time of Elizabeth.

20. THE NUN'S RULE, or Ancren Riwle, in Modern English. [*Double volume.*

Being the injunctions of Bishop Poore intended for the guidance of nuns or anchoresses, as set forth in this famous thirteenth-century MS.

Editor, the Right Rev. Abbot Gasquet. Frontispiece, Seal of Bishop Poore. (See Nos. 3, 59.)

21. THE MEMOIRS OF ROBERT CARY, Earl of Monmouth.

Being a contemporary record of the life of that nobleman as Warden of the Marches and at the Court of Elizabeth.

Editor, G. H. Powell. With frontispiece from the original edition, representing Queen Elizabeth in a state procession, with the Earl of Monmouth and others in attendance.

22. EARLY LIVES OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Translated and edited by A. J. Grant. With frontispiece representing an early bronze figure of Charlemagne from the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

We have here given us two "Lives" of Charlemagne by contemporary authorities—one by Eginhard and the other by the Monk of St. Gall. Very different in style, when brought together in one volume each supplies the deficiencies of the other.

23. CICERO'S "FRIENDSHIP," "OLD AGE," AND "SCIPIO'S DREAM."

From early translations. Editor, W. H. D. Rouse, Litt.D. Frontispiece, "Scipio, Laelius, and Cato conversing," from a fourteenth-century MS.

24. WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

The introduction and notes have been written by W. Basil Worsfold, M.A., and the frontispiece is taken from the portrait of Wordsworth by H. W. Pickersgill, R.A., in the National Gallery. A map of the Lake District is added.

[*Double volume.*

25. THE DEFENCE OF GUENEVERE, and other Poems by William Morris.

Editor, Robert Steele. With reproduction of Dante Gabriel Rossetti's picture of "Lancelot and Guenevere at King Arthur's tomb" as frontispiece.

26, 27. BROWNING'S "MEN AND WOMEN."

Edited with introduction and notes by W. Basil Worsfold, M.A. Two volumes, each with portrait of Browning as frontispiece. [*In two volumes.*

28. POE'S POEMS.

Editor, Edward Hutton. Frontispiece, Drawing of Poe's cottage.

29. SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS.

Editor, Mrs. C. C. Stopes. Frontispiece, Portrait of the Earl of Southampton.

30. GEORGE ELIOT'S SILAS MARNER.

Frontispiece, Portrait of George Eliot, from a water-colour drawing by Mrs. Charles Bray. Introduction by Richard Garnett.

31. GOLDSMITH'S VICAR OF WAKEFIELD.

Introduction by Richard Garnett. Frontispiece, Portrait of Oliver Goldsmith.

32. CHARLES READE'S PEG WOFFINGTON.

Frontispiece, Portrait of Peg Woffington. Introduction by Richard Garnett.

33. THE HOUSEHOLD OF SIR THOMAS MORE.

By Anne Manning. Preface by Richard Garnett. Frontispiece, "The Family of Sir Thomas More."

34. SAPPHO: One Hundred Lyrics.

By Bliss Carman. With frontispiece after a Greek gem.

35. WINE, WOMEN, AND SONG.

Mediæval students' songs, translated from the Latin, with an essay, by John Addington Symonds. Frontispiece after a fifteenth-century woodcut.

36, 37. GEORGE PETTIE'S "PETITE PALLACE OF PETTIE HIS PLEASURE."

The popular Elizabethan book containing twelve classical love-stories—"Sinorix and Camma," "Tereus and Progne," etc.—in style the precursor of Euphues, now first reprinted under the editorship of Professor I. Gollancz. Frontispieces, a reproduction of the original title-page, and of a page of the original text. [*In two volumes.*

38. WALPOLE'S CASTLE OF OTRANTO.

The introduction of Sir Walter Scott. Preface by Miss C. Spurgeon. Frontispiece, Portrait of Walpole, after a contemporary engraving.

39. THE POETS ROYAL OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

Being Original Poems by English Kings and other Royal and Noble Persons, now first collected and edited by W. Bailey-Kempling. Frontispiece, Portrait of King James I. of Scotland after an early engraving.

40. SIR THOMAS MORE'S UTOPIA.

Now for the first time edited in modern spelling from *the first English edition*, with notes and bibliography by ROBERT STEELE. Frontispiece, Portrait of Sir Thomas More, after an early engraving.

41. CHAUCER'S LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN.

In modern English, with notes and introduction, by Professor W. W. SKEAT, Litt.D. Frontispiece, "Ariadne Deserted," after the painting by ANGELICA KAUFMANN.

42. SWIFT'S BATTLE OF THE BOOKS. Together with Selections from the Literature of the Ancient and Modern Learning Controversy.

Edited by A. GUTHKELCH, with notes and introduction. Frontispiece after an old engraving illustrating the Epistles of Phalaris.

43. SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE UPON THE GARDENS OF EPICURUS; together with other XVIIth Century Garden Essays.

Edited, and with notes and introduction, by A. FORBES SIEVEKING, F.S.A. Frontispiece, Portrait of Sir William Temple, and five reproductions of early "Garden" engravings.

44. THE FOUR LAST THINGS, by SIR T. MORE, together with A Spiritual Consolation and other Treatises by JOHN FISHER, Bishop of Rochester.

Edited by DANIEL O'CONNOR. Frontispiece after two designs from the "Daunce of Death." [*In preparation.*

45. THE SONG OF ROLAND.

Newly translated from the old French by Mrs. CROSLAND. Introduction by Professor BRANDIN, University of London. Frontispiece after a page of the Oxford MS.

46. DANTE'S VITA NUOVA.

The Italian text with D. G. Rossetti's translation on the opposite page. Introduction and notes by Professor H. Oelsner, Ph.D., Lecturer in Romance Literature, Oxford University. Frontispiece after the original water-colour sketch for "Dante's Dream," by D. G. Rossetti.

47. CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE AND MINOR POEMS.

In modern English by Professor Skeat, Litt.D. Frontispiece, Portrait of Chaucer after the Ellesmere MS.

48. CHAUCER'S PARLIAMENT OF BIRDS AND HOUSE OF FAME.

In modern English by Professor Skeat, Litt.D. Frontispiece, after Sir E. Burne Jones, from the Kelmscott Chaucer.

49. MRS. GASKELL'S CRANFORD.

With an Introduction by R. Brimley Johnson. The frontispiece reproduced after the portrait by Sir W. Richmond, R.A.

50. PEARL.

An English Poem of the Fourteenth Century. Edited with a modern rendering and Introduction by Professor I. Gollancz, Litt.D. With a Frontispiece after W. Holman Hunt, and Prefatory lines by the late Lord Tennyson. A revision of the edition of 1891. (See No. 18.) [*In preparation.*

51, 52. KINGS' LETTERS.

Parts III and IV. Edited from the originals by Robert Steele, F.S.A. (See Nos. 6, 7.) [*In preparation.*

53. THE ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE OF SAINT BONIFACE.

Being the letters exchanged between "The Apostle of the Germans," while engaged in his missionary labours on the Continent, and his English friends. Translated and edited, and with a brief Introductory sketch of the Life of Saint Boniface, by E. J. Kylie, M.A. [*In preparation.*

54, 55. THE ESSAYS OF ELIA.

Fully edited, with Notes, Introduction, etc., by THOMAS SECCOMBE, M.A. Frontispieces. [*In preparation.*

56. THE CAVALIER TO HIS LADY: an Anthology of XVIIth Century Love Songs.

Selected and edited by FRANK SIDGWICK. With a frontispiece after a water-colour drawing by BYAM SHAW, R.I.

57. ASSER'S LIFE OF KING ALFRED.

Newly translated and edited by L. C. JANE, M.A. The frontispiece reproduces King Alfred's jewel, while a facsimile is also given of a page of the lost MS.

58. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ICELANDIC: select passages from Icelandic Literature, in prose and verse.

Translated and edited by the Rev. W. C. GREEN, M.A. Frontispiece, a drawing of the Thor Cross, Kirkbride.

59. THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT.

Translated and edited by the Right Rev. Abbot GASQUET. Frontispiece after the painting by Sassoferrato at Perugia.

60. DANIEL'S "DELIA" AND DRAYTON'S "IDEA": two Elizabethan sonnet-sequences.

Edited by ARUNDELL ESDAILE, M.A. Frontispiece, Portraits of Daniel and Drayton.

61. THE BOOK OF THE DUKE OF TRUE LOVERS.

A Romance of the Court, now first translated from the unique MS. in the Middle French by CHRISTINE DE PISAN, with Notes and Introduction, by ALICE KEMP-WELCH. [*In preparation.*

62. OF THE TUMBLER OF OUR LADY, AND OTHER MIRACLES.

Now first translated from the Middle French MSS. anonymous and by Gautier de Coinci (preserved at Soissons), with Notes and Introduction, by Alice Kemp-Welch.

[*In preparation.*

63. THE CHATELAINE OF VERGI.

A Romance of the Court, translated from the Middle French by Alice Kemp-Welch, with Introduction by L. Brandin, Ph.D., and with the original Text, édition Raynaud. [*In preparation.*

Other volumes in preparation.

NOTE.—*At the date of this list, January* 1909, *Nos.* 1–43, 45–49, and 56–60 *were published. Other numbers subsequent to* 43 *were at press or about to go to press.*

THE SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

General Editor, Professor I. Gollancz, Litt.D.

Part I. THE OLD-SPELLING SHAKESPEARE, in 40 Vols.
Part II. THE SHAKESPEARE CLASSICS.
Part III. THE LAMB SHAKESPEARE FOR THE YOUNG.
Part IV. SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLAND.

The detailed prospectus post free on application.

BIBLIOTHECA ROMANICA

A series of selected classics of the *Romance Languages*, in, and with notes and necessary introductions also in, the original language of the several volumes. Cartridge paper binding 8*d.* net, cloth 1*s.* net. Sixty-five Volumes are now ready, and others will follow.

The detailed prospectus post free on application.

Chatto & Windus

Publishers

111 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.

R. Clay & Sons, Ltd., London and Bungay.

O Lord for Peace we thank Thee
in our need
This day hath dawned wherein we did
most indeed
we to all Nations bleeding from the strife
in strength & hope in everlasting life

he hosts of millions in the night dost
bend
send us peace & hear them when we cry
and know that for this brotherhood
unites all
in mercies Arms in unison & Thy
will

The night had brought

So at the [illegible] of [illegible]

With hope in the heart [illegible] clear away the dust
[illegible] and take up the bread
To work & build the world anew we must
Forget as best we can the days gone by
Live for today & grasp the work that's nigh
Smile from the

KR-506-683